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Selections.

LORD BROUGHAM'S SPEECH ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, August 2d.

Half a century has now elapsed, since the parliament of England, acting as a grand inquest, not for this country alone, but for the world, presented to the indignation of mankind that execrable traffic which had for three hundred years been the scourge of Africa, and the disgrace of Christian Europe. To this righteous act, in which our counsels were guided by all the genius of the age, sustained by its virtue, and animated by its pious zeal, a long and criminal delay succeeded, for which parliament was alone to blame. The enormity, though denounced, was protected; universally condemned, it continued to flourish, even to increase; till at length that sentence was recorded by the legislature, which the public voice had pronounced, and the traffic was prohibited, though by laws of no stringent force.—But, now that it was forbidden and declared illegal, the execution of more complete justice became comparatively easy; and I had the good fortune to obtain the unanimous assent of all the branches of the legislature, as well as of the country at large, to the act which no longer treating it as a trade, visited it as a crime, and subjected those who perpetrated it, to the punishment suffered by felons far less guilty than they. How, then, comes it to pass, that full thirty years after this great consummation, I still am standing here to complain of slave trading, to point against it the indignation of parliament, and to ask for its suppression, new laws, or laws declaring and enforcing the old? That now, instead of only complaining against foreign nations, over whom we have no control, or of our authority not being employed with those over whom our influence extends, since they have only existed under our protection, and at our pleasure, I am here to denounce those over whom our power is complete, subjects of the British crown and the British law—yet engaged in a flagrant violation of their duty to both? I proceed at once to demonstrate the existence of this painful case; and, by plain facts, to show your lordships that I am not occupied in preferring vague, unsubstantial charges, and bring no railing accusation; nor do I think it will be necessary to detain you long, while I show, that by the stimulus of British speculation, with the accession of British agents, through the employment of British capital, the foreign slave traffic is in great part perpetrated and protected. I will go at once to those facts which lead, irremutably lead, to the presumption whence the capital is drawn that the traffic requires. Your lordships know—I say you know, because the papers presented by the crown to parliament, and the correspondence of the government with our foreign agents, which these papers contain, prove it—you may know that in Cuba (I confine myself to Cuba and Brazil, the great slave-trading countries,) there has of late years been an extraordinary increase in the cultivation. Between 1829 and 1836, the produce more than doubled; the amount of sugar exported from the island having risen from one hundred and sixty-four to three hundred and seventy millions of pounds. From the same official sources, it appears, that between 1827 and 1831, the number of slaves had increased thirty-two thousand; which, added to the 91,000 required for supplying the annual loss of eighty-one and a half per cent. the excess of deaths over births, gives 123,000 imported in these four years, or above 30,000 yearly. Into the Havana, 142 vessels imported 52,000 slaves in the years 1837-8; and the price having risen from £60 to £85, two millions and a quarter sterling were thus required for that importation alone. But taking the lowest estimate that has ever been made for the whole Cuba importation, it cannot be calculated at less than 50,000 yearly, requiring the annual expenditure of four millions; while the whole exports of the island did not amount to three, during the same period; a clear proof that the capital which upheld this enormous expenditure on one of the charges of cultivation, could not come from the resources of the island itself. If from Cuba, we turn our eye towards the Brazils, we are met with the same state of things. There came to the neighborhood of Rio, in three years ending 1839, 244 vessels laden with 109,000 slaves; and taking the same low estimate for the whole importation, as I took for that of Cuba, the amount cannot be less than 70,000; which, at the cost of £80, given in the very useful work of a meritorious and efficient public servant in my noble friend's department, (Lord Aberdeen,) I mean Mr. Bandinel, makes the yearly expenditure upon the purchase of slaves, five and a half millions, or about seventeen millions, in no longer a period than three years. It is needless to ask if Brazil and Cuba could furnish themselves those millions of money. The thing is inconceivable. The aid of foreign treasures must have been obtained; and in looking around to the quarters from whence the supplies must have come, we must needs adopt the painful conclusion, that in great part, at least, such an ample amount of capital as was required, must have belonged to the rich men of this country. But though warranted in adopting the general presumption to which these facts lead, I mean not to rest it upon that foundation. Particular facts and circumstances, equally show that there is no escaping from the general inference at which we have arrived by another route. But giving me credit for afterwards showing that British subjects are in fact mixed up with speculations in Brazil, for conducting which the purchase of slaves from time to time is required; let me ask your lordships to consider, for a moment, whether those who are interested in such concerns, can possibly be ignorant of the means by which the negroes they buy are brought to the markets they frequent? In the first place, they have the recorded declaration of an honorable man in the senate of Brazil, that the law abolishing the slave trade was notoriously a dead letter, having fallen entirely into disuse. They have, in the next place, a petition or memorial from the provincial assembly of Bahia to the senate, urging a repeal of the law; not that they gave themselves any trouble about the prohibition—with that they could easily deal, by wholly disregarding it—but the provision that all slaves imported after 1831, the date of the law, should be free—embarrassed the operations of the purchaser, and made it very inconvenient to hold recently-imported negroes. Therefore, the provincial assembly desires the repeal of this inconvenient enactment; and upon grounds of which it is not easy to find any parallel. "Brazil," say they, "accustomed for nearly three centuries to employ slaves, and to *be supplied* with them, as *an annual provision from Africa, paid little attention* to the *encouragement of their progressive increase by reproduction*, in the view that *from this increase* such *annual supply might be dispensed with*; and by such means, whilst the free trade in slaves continued, the country *should never want hands to keep up and feed the husbandry of the soil*." They then admit the existence of the contraband slave trade, in defiance of the law, and of the treaty with England; and they urge its abrogation, on the ground "*that a transgression so immoral and deceitful may be obviated; an evil which Providence alone, whom we supplicate, can in some measure lessen.*" They urge the repeal with great earnestness, as the prosperity of the province depends on the culture of the sugar cane, which mainly constitutes its richness and opulence, and from which the State draws great revenue. (Class B. 1840, p. 294.) In other words, the crime must not be punished by law, but permitted, for fear the criminal should add to his guilt the offense of violating the prohibition of the law; to prevent his iniquities, recourse must be had, not to penal enactments, but to prayers for his conversion. I find another provincial assembly, that of Minas Geraes, urging the same suit, on the like grounds. After dwelling upon the dangers resulting to the country from the want of new negroes, the memorial adds, "above all, as the worst of all these perils, the immorality which is the result of our citizens being accustomed to violate the laws under the very eyes of the administrators thereof."—(Dispatch, 22d Feb. 1840, papers A. 294.) I verily believe that the whole history of human effrontery presents no passage to match this—no second example of equal audacity. We have here a provincial legislature coming forward on behalf of pirates—for ever since March, 1831, slave trading is piracy by the law of Brazil—on behalf of pirates and their accomplices, the planters who profit by the piracy, purchasing its fruits; on behalf of these great criminals urging a repeal of the law which they openly avow is continually broken by them, and which they declare they will continue to set at naught, as long as it continues unrepealed; but demanding its repeal upon the ground, that while it remains, they being resolved to break it, are thus under the necessity of committing the additional immorality of breaking it under the eye of the judges sworn to enforce it. Such are the notorious facts, notorious to all who lived in Brazil; and proving to those engaged in promoting and profiting by the agriculture of that country, be they resident there, or here at home, that their capital must be used to promote slave trading in a country where the African trade continues to flourish in defiance of a merely nominal prohibition. But your lordships must not suppose, that my charge against British capitalists, of employing in the promotion of this guilty commerce the wealth bestowed by Providence as a blessing on their *honest* industry, rests upon mere general probability or natural inference. I have certain specific facts to which I can refer, and which unfortunately leave no doubt upon the subject. On the 14th of July, 1838, (I am obliged to give the date, that there may be no doubt of my authority,) the English commissioners at Rio wrote to Lord Palmerston, "The various undertakings going on in this country and every day multiplying, are for the most part the result of British enterprise." But neither is it on so general a statement as this, that the case rests, although coming from a quarter every way entitled to respectful attention; for though we can but seldom trace the course which such speculations take; though we can with difficulty follow and unravel the shifts, the subtle contrivances by which the law is evaded, there come to light, now and then, matters which leave no doubt as to the transactions that are going on, and show in what way the investment of capital takes place, and what are the practices resorted to for driving and for screening the traffic. A year or two ago, a vessel bearing Russian colors was seized. She was released, on the ground of an objection taken to the jurisdiction, an unsound one as I conceive. Being released, however, she was sold here, and her name was changed. She was purchased—where? In the city. By whom? By a merchant, established for twenty years in the city, naturalized, I believe, in this country, and to all intents and purposes a British trader. She was purchased—for whom? A Spaniard, a notorious slave trader. With what capital? I care not whether the purchase was made with the merchant's own capital, with the capital of the Spaniard, for whom he might have acted as agent, or with that of the English master, who was on board the vessel. As soon as she was purchased, her name being changed from Russian to English, she was sent forth on her voyage of depredation.—She first touched at Cadiz; and, from that circumstance, the voyage might be represented as a perfectly innocent one from the Thames to the Mediterranean. She was thence despatched to the African coast; and the pretense no doubt is, that the former voyage from London was an entirely separate and unconnected transaction—that she suddenly changed her character on arriving in Spain, and became all at once a slaver, from having been an innocent ship. Such of your lordships as can bring your minds to believe this tale, must be endowed with a strength of faith, with powers of belief far exceeding the measure of my credulity. From Cadiz, then, she fared forth to Africa, and was seized on the slave coast, close to a notorious slave mart, having such a cargo, and such correspondence on board with slave traders, and consigned to persons so notorious as slave traders, that she was, without difficulty, condemned under the consolidated slave trade act, for aiding and abetting in the traffic. The master on board, an English subject, was the pretended owner; there was, however, every reason to believe that she belonged to a notorious slave trader of Cuba, and had been purchased for him by his London agent. This happened early last year.—Another instance occurred not much longer ago; a vessel, American built, but British owned, sailed from Liverpool; and the names of her owners, which I need not mention, are given in the papers on your table. The articles signed by the seamen, were for a voyage to the Brazils, and back again to some port in the United Kingdom. But no sooner did she reach her port of destination, Bahia, than she was fitted out for the slave coast; the crew refused to go, as this was contrary to their articles; and seven left her, whose places were supplied by others embarked in Brazil. This is certified by the English vice-consul, under the consular seal. The charterer was a noted slave trader; the consignees were slave traders; the destination was Lagos, a notorious slaving port; and she was condemned for aiding in the slave trade. But a little while before this seizure, Capt. Smith, of H. M. S. *Grecian*, captured a vessel under Brazilian colors, off the coast of Brazil, having seventy or eighty slaves on board, and bound with them to the plantation of a British subject, settled in Brazil. That they came from the African coast, I am not prepared to affirm; but I am ready to declare my opinion, which I have before stated in this place, that such a traffic is punishable as felony in a British subject, under the provision of the consolidated act, whether the slaves purchased be brought from the coast of Africa or from any other place—the exceptions in that act do not protect it—they only protect purchasing and carrying coastwise in the dominions of the crown. Not to multiply instances, a case lately came before the privy council, upon the claim of a Brazilian vessel condemned for slave trading. My noble friend, the Lord President, may recollect it; he sat with us upon the appeal. The ship had been sent out upon a slaving voyage; and the consignee of the cargo was a very well-known slave trader; but among other evidence which he produced, to avert the condemnation, was the certificate of twenty or thirty mercantile houses established in Brazil, all testifying to his high character for respectability and honor. Of these houses, about one half were British firms. These men scrupled not to join in bearing this testimony to the character of a person whose slave trading must be as well known upon the 'Change of Rio, as the name he is called by—slave trading having been by the law of Brazil treated as piracy, for the last ten years and upwards. Of the British houses that so certified, I will say nothing, however, except that three of them are represented to me by persons upon whose information I think reliance may be placed, as having lost together £12,000 by some late condemnations of vessels for slave trading; and I know, that the despatch of the commissioners to the secretary of state, dated 14th July, 1838, to which I have already referred, distinctly, states, "British capital to have suffered severely in this city, (Rio,) from recent captures."—But if our merchants settled in Brazil thus vouch for the character of Brazilian slave traders, see how mutual the voucher is; how freely the Brazilian slave trader bears his testimony reciprocally to the character of the British merchant! In a journal, believed to be under the patronage, and known to speak the sentiments of a celebrated British minister, connected with the slave trading party, I find this panegyric upon our countrymen: "We declare that we have great respect for the English merchants of Rio, not only for their conduct in our internal concerns, but principally for the *way in which they contribute to the ransom of captive blacks in Africa*, whether by ordering goods fit to be employed *in this work of humanity*—whether by lending their money to the adventurer, or whether, as is said, by insuring vessels destined for the coast. We greatly respect the English for their conduct in our *internal* concerns!" Whether the part of their conduct thus so greatly respected is their bearing judicial testimony to the honor of pirates, or only their importing from seventy to eighty negro slaves, in breach of the laws of England, I am not prepared to say. But the principal ground of respect is their conduct towards Africa—"the way in which they there contribute to ransom the captive blacks, by ordering goods fit for being employed in this work of humanity." Whether the goods so humanely used are the coast guns, as they used to be called, which, being bought for twelve or fifteen pence, burst in the hands of the negroes, the second or third time they are fired, or whether the allusion may be to the shackles, the manacles, the iron weights that form part of the cargo in this voyage of humanity; or whether the whips and goads invested are more darkly shadowed out under the tender phrases, I will not take upon me to decide. But on the next topic of praise there can be little doubt; "the lending their money to the adventurer," the humane adventurer, and "insuring, as is said, (I make no doubt most truly said,) the vessels destined for the slave coast." No doubt the insuring such vessels is naturally a matter of eulogy to the affectionate lovers of the unhappy African race, eagerly celebrating the praise of those engaged in their ransom. Such vessels, for instance, as were lately seized by Capt. Denman, who, shedding a new lustre on the great name he bears, and equalling the exertions of the most gallant and zealous of his brethren in arms on that station, (if, indeed, he does not surpass them all,) has been waging a constant, an implacable, an interminable, and I rejoice to add, a successful warfare with the miscreant felons who ravage the coast, pollute the seas, and disgrace the name of sailor and of trader. The praise is bestowed on the humane British insurer of such vessels as he lately took—in one of which, horrid to relate, of forty-seven tons burthen, 370 wretched Africans were found concealed. Think of that!—If you can bring yourselves to the dreadful contemplation, think of that! Eight persons to a ton, being five times as many as were permitted by our slave-carrying acts, at a time when, if we did not encourage, we at least protected the traffic! Exaggeration is always to be condemned; both as unfair, and therefore wrong, it is to be condemned; and as utterly inexpedient, it is to be rejected. I have often complained of it, on both grounds, before your lordships, and have reminded those who foolishly, as well as blameably, had recourse to such a practice, that it counteracts their own intentions, like some optic glass, which in unskillful hands diminishes objects, instead of magnifying them. But here it would be as impossible, as it is unjust, and as it is foolish, to exaggerate; for I defy any man's fancy to go beyond the fact, or anything to be conceived more horrible than the bare statement of 375 wretched beings thrust into a vessel no larger than a Thames barge—there to endure what would be unbearable torment in a passage up or down the river, that washes these walls—to endure it on the voyage across the Atlantic ocean. Nor let us exaggerate the blame of those who by their speculations give the impulse to such cruel deeds. I do not mean to hold them answerable for things of which they may be ignorant, as they have never themselves witnessed those scenes of horror. But they are most clearly accessories before the fact, in so far as their capital drives the trade, or their demand for its produce causes it to be driven; and they are sharers in the guilty profits of the transactions, so far as they carry on their concerns of planting, or of mining, by purchasing those victims of the slave trader's avarice, whom he tears from Africa that he may sell to them. Many persons, of otherwise excellent character, nay, even of dispositions generally humane, are, some without reflection, others in ignorance of the details, embarked on such speculations. With these I would only remonstrate; I would beseech them, in all kindness of spirit, to reflect more fully, to examine more closely, the consequences of thus employing their capital in foreign slave colonies. If their eyes are opened to the inevitable consequences; if they are aroused to a distinct view of the facts, surely they will awaken to a sense of what their duty demands of them, unless they would, after notice, make themselves willful partakers of the crime.

Let us take the case of mining companies,—the affairs of these are chiefly in the hands of British shareholders; the seat of some companies is in the city of London itself. At a late meeting of one company, a call upon the shares being proposed, the ground of the demand was openly declared to be the expenses incurred by the recent purchases of slaves required to keep up the stock for working the mine. £5,000 was stated to be the sum thus expended in one year, and seventy-three negroes were alledged to have been bought. Many holders of those shares are, without doubt, honorable and excellent persons, who have never considered the subject as it deserves. It is with them I make my friendly and respectful remonstrance, hoping—I had well nigh said, expecting—that they will, upon inquiry, feel the necessity of abandoning such speculations, and, acting at once upon that feeling, invest otherwise the wealth with which Providence has blessed them for far worthier ends. Of their agents in Brazil, I cannot speak in any such measured terms—they must know that they are directly abetting the traffic. If they say that the slaves they purchase for their employers are creoles, and not imported; if they contend that it is lawful to buy slaves in a foreign country where slavery is still suffered by the law; passing over the objections to this position which I have ever urged upon the most plain construction of our abolition acts, which make such dealing felony, everywhere except in a British settlement, I say that, granting the law to be as they erroneously read it, their statement of fact cannot avail to screen them. It is quite inconceivable that they should be ignorant of the slaves whom they purchase, having been lately, nay, but the day before, landed from the hold of the slave ship. No person in Brazil—no person who has been there a month, can pretend ignorance of a negro being newly imported the instant he sees him. But if the mere sight should not prove decisive, could any man affect to doubt, after hearing the unhappy creature speak? Nay, suppose even that test to fail, does not the price paid, at once convict the purchaser? When £65 or £70 only is demanded for the new negro, and £120 or £130 is the price of a creole, of a seasoned slave, do you require more evidence to prove the guilty knowledge of the buyer, than his paying only half price? Let me see the man who has bought a jewel at half its value, and I shall have my doubts of his honesty, even if the seller was not a suspicious character. But show me the man who has paid half price to a suspected person, and I shall have no doubt at all, that the one is a receiver, and the other a thief. This is not more clear, than that the man who pays for a slave half the sum which a seasoned negro costs, knows that he is buying a slave newly brought from Africa. In fact, the market cannot be supplied regularly with creoles—with healthy and serviceable creoles hardly at all. Those brought to sale are either maimed, or afflicted with some bodily illness, or some mental incapacity, or of habits dissolute and rebellious. Whoever would buy a large number, cannot either take slaves of that description, or trust to the chances of some unforeseen disaster, occasioning a sale, and the purchaser not keeping the slave, though it is difficult to see how any one can carry on the plantation without the slaves. Those who conduct the mines must, therefore, know, that it is the African market from whence they are supplied with new hands. Some of those agents, and bearing, I grieve to say, her majesty's commission, half-pay officers in the army and the navy, have been heard to avow openly, that they purchased newly-imported slaves in preference, doubtless because they cost less. But it required no such avowal to convince any one who reflected on the nature of the commerce, that such must be the case. The course of the traffic is well known. A vessel arrives from Africa, and not venturing to land her cargo in Rio, from fear of the British commissioners, rather than apprehension that the Brazil authorities will do their duty, she hovers off the bar, below the town, and conveys the negroes to some convenient landing-place, from whence they are conducted to a barracoon, or slave barrack, in the woods, and at only a few miles distance from the city. I asked of my informants, how it happened that as many as seven or eight hundred, the number frequently landed from one shaver, could be conveyed through the country without danger of their escaping, or rising to resist their keepers. Alas, I little knew the condition in which these hapless creatures reached the new world! I was told that if I had ever witnessed the state in which they were carried on shore, emaciated, exhausted, and crippled, barely capable of crawling along, I should have seen that the least movement towards flight, or the raising a hand in resistance, was an absolute, a physical impossibility. Thus passively taken to the barracoon, they are there seen and purchased by the mine agent, or the planters' agent. Can he muster up assurance enough to deny that he knows he is dealing for negroes newly landed? Nay, if he only repairs to the city, and is there waited upon by a slave captain, or his supercargo, can he pretend to deny that he is aware of the article he is buying—yes, just as certainly as if he had seen the poor negro landed, whom he is about to drive up the country to, delve in the mine, or hoe in the cane piece? Such men are not to be, in any respect whatever, distinguished from slave traders. In the African slave trade they are directly concerned—slave traders in the ordinary acceptation of the term. A broad distinction is to be taken between their guilt and that of the capitalist who employs and hires them; he does not actually see the criminal traffic; he does not go down to the slave ship, with her freight of misery and of crime—her lading of wretches, and her felon crew. Nevertheless, it is impossible to hold him blameless, when his hired agent is covered with guilt; the agent whom he sets on as the accomplice of piracy, by whose acts he profits, the result of whose wrong-doing all goes to enrich him. If he be not an accessory to the felony, his money procures it—his wealth is increased by it—without his aid it could not be perpetrated. Whoever they be that instigate such iniquities, by their speculation, and support them with their money, let them be well assured that their capital is the very spring which sets in motion the whole machinery of crime, as certainly as the main-spring of that clock moves the hand which tells me how long, how much longer than was necessary, I have been detaining you, to dwell over these painful scenes. But men, especially when engaged in evil courses, are prone to discover minute differences; and self-love, the great source of all blindness, is itself very quick-sighted to descry nice distinctions, that may screen us from the stern judge whom Providence has appointed within the breast. The capitalists to whom I have alluded, are apt to say, possibly to think, they are little to blame, because they see nothing of all the suffering they occasion, and all the vice by which they profit; and many who would shrink from doing the deed with their own hands, or even shudder to view it with their own eyes, have but little qualm that others should do it for them, and out of sight.

I remember an eastern tale, in which some tyrant is represented as minded to put two of his family to death; but even his relentless nature flew back from witnessing the murder he ordered to be committed, according to the accustomed solecism of arbitrary power, as Lord Bacon calls it, desiring the end but disliking the means. The officer whom he commissioned to do the deed, shared in the same scruples; and thinking he could divide the guilt by dividing the instrumentality, employed one ignorant of the criminal purpose. The unsuspecting agent, was taken to a cave where a rope that entered the ground was made fast to an iron ring; and he was bid to sever it with a hatchet; the rope disappeared with great force on the blow being struck; and being carried to the adjoining palace he saw two persons crushed to death by the descent of a marble canopy, under which they had been sleeping. His base conductor and his royal employer, would have recoiled from the sight of the slaughter which they had no scruple thus to perpetrate; and of which each was as guilty as if he had dared to plunge his dagger into the victims and been sprinkled with their blood. But it is not more certain that the blow of the hatchet which severed the rope, dealt destruction to those who reposed under the block which it had suspended, than it is certain that the capital of British speculators invested in the mines of Brazil, and the plantations of Cuba, kindles the wars, and stimulates the murders, and instigates the tortures, and sheds the desolation, with which the slave traffic has for ages ravaged the regions of Africa, to glut the cruel avarice of nations, the most ostentatious devotees to the religion of charity and peace. I hear it indeed whispered that these are not times for interfering with the employment of capital; that in the present embarrassment under which our commerce is laboring, we should be slow to stop up any channel in which capital may find employment. I can listen to no such argument; I protest utterly against its application to this question; and your lordships, above all men, can give it no quarter! What course have you been holding, and only yesterday holding? Regardless of the plea that trade was laboring, you have increased its burden, where the plain interest of decorum and of morals demanded an addition to the load. But having overruled that plea when indecency was counterpleaded, you must not show yourselves more patient of crime. Sworn enemies to practices of an immoral tendency, will you be the protectors of actual guilt? Unscrupulous in dealing with private rights, when they warred with purity of conduct, can you harbor a preposterous delicacy towards piracy and murder, to screen from justice the gains of the felon or his accomplice? The more gloomy our prospects may be under a temporary visitation, the closer we should cling to our principles, that holding fast our integrity, we may earn the blessing of brighter fortunes. Let us wash out the most vile pollution that defiles our honest trade, and tarnishes their name who drive it. Cease to protect the slavemonger, by whatever name he may call himself, or his accomplice, under what mask soever he may lurk. Zealous in extirpating vice, and immorality, and intemperance at home, do not patronize and propagate them abroad—anywhere abroad. Neither in the east, neither in the west, neither towards the rising sun nor towards his going down, wage execrable wars with human happiness and virtue, for the lucre of gain,—wars against millions, feeble as they are unoffending,—wars such as those of the most sordid prince who ever filled that throne, and which his immortal historian, likened to some base metal, glittering like steel, but really of brass,—monstrous wars, redeemed by no one virtue, nor graced by any triumph, save the triumph over public principle and national honor, in which victory shorn of its glories leads on peace stripped of its wonted blessings, nay, clothed in a double curse—in them that give it, whom it stains with the disgrace of guilty profits—in them that receive it, whom it corrupts with intemperance and cripples with disease! But a curse yet more heavy lies on the gains of African slavery and war,—whether they swell the stores of the trader, or replenish the coffers of the State—surely, surely this country never can forget the maxim of her greatest poet and none the least of her patriots, that it is her high prerogative to teach the nations how to live. And not her policy alone, but her industry must be kept pure, and above forming a partnership with violence and slavery. It is with peace, and with freedom that the commerce of England naturally maintains her holy alliance. She is the offspring of that liberty—but the support of her parent—by a charity above all Greek or Roman charities; the nurse of her parent—and you, my lords, calling down upon her and yourselves the blessings of heaven by pursuing the course which I, in all humility, but with all earnestness urge you to take, will add to your own fame an honor of which you stand little in need—but afford me, who want it much, the only consolation I can ever now enjoy, by helping me to discharge a sacred public duty. "I move you to resolve that this house will, with all practicable expedition, take such measures as may be most effectual for preventing the employment of British capital in promoting or maintaining the slave trade."

ADDRESS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS, OF BRAINTREE, SEPT. 12, 1842.

When I first received the honor of your invitation to attend the meeting, it occurred to me that besides the occasion it would afford me to return to you, in this public manner, my heartfelt thanks for all the favors which, in a continuous career of twelve years' service, I had received at your hands, the opportunity would also be presented me, of reviewing the public measures of those twelve years, in which your interests have been deeply involved—of unfolding to you the professions, principles, and practices, of the federal administration of these United States, under successive Presidents, invested with the executive power, from the day when I took my seat as your representative in the House, down to the present hour. I trusted it would be in my power to present to your contemplation, not only the outward and ostensible indications of federal policy, proclaimed and trumpeted abroad as the maxims of the Jackson, Van Buren, and Tyler administrations, but to lay bare their secret purposes, and never-yet-divulged designs for the future government or dissolution of this Union.

Further reflection convinced me that this exposition would require more time than you could possibly devote to one meeting to hear me. My friend and colleague, Mr. Appleton, has in an answer to his constituents to a public dinner, lifted a corner of the veil, and opened a glance at the monstrous and horrible object beneath it; but South Carolina nullification itself, with its appendages of separation, secession, and the forty-bale theory, were but the struggles of Quixotism, dreaming itself Genius, to erect on the basis of State sovereignty, a system for seating South Carolina slavery on the throne of this Union, in the event of success—or of severing the present Union, and instituting, with a tier of embryo southern States, to be wrested from the dismemberment of Mexico, a southern slaveholding confederation, to balance the free republic of the North.

"The passage (says Mr. Appleton) of the revenue bill, imposing discriminating duties with a view to the protection and encouragement of American industry, is, under the circumstances, an event of the highest importance. Notwithstanding the system had been formally established in 1816, and fortified by succeeding legislation; notwithstanding its success in the development of our resources, and the establishment of manufactures and arts, surpassing the expectation of the most sanguine; notwithstanding the immense investments of capital made on the faith of the national legislation, inviting such application; the attempt was seriously entertained of breaking down this whole system, with a reckless disregard of consequences, either in the wanton destruction of capital, or what is far more important, in the general paralysis of the industry of the country. The origin of this attempt may be traced to the mad ambition of certain politicians of South Carolina, who, in 1832, formed the project of a southern confederacy, severed from the rest of the Union, with that State for the centre, as affording more security to the slave States for their peculiar institutions, than exists under the federal government.

"This project led to the invention of a theory of political economy, which was maintained with an ingenuity and perseverance worthy of a better cause, founded on the assumption that all import duties are, in effect, direct taxes upon exports. So indefatigable were the promulgators of this theory, that the whole South was made to believe that a protective tariff was a system of plunder levied upon their productions of cotton, rice, and tobacco—which constituted the bulk of our exports to foreign markets. Nullification, separation, and the forty-bale theory, have passed away from the minds of the South, and it is very evident that there is a tendency to more correct views on the subject; but such continues to be the prevailing prejudice, that very few of their public men have the moral courage to vote for a protective tariff, even when convinced of its tendency to promote the national prosperity."

Mr. Appleton remarks that nullification, separation, and the forty-bale theory, have passed away from the minds of the South; and this observation is true, so far as regards the arrayment of the Palmetto standard against the banner of the Union; but you would entertain a very erroneous opinion of your own condition, and of the ruling spirit of the present day at the South, if you should flatter yourselves that southern nullification has either changed its nature, or relented from its purposes. It is not the intention of Mr. Appleton to convey to his constituents and fellow-citizens of this commonwealth that idea. He knows that the principles of nullification were never more inflexibly maintained, never more inexorably pursued, than they have been by all that portion of the South which *ever* gave them countenance, from the day of the death of William Henry Harrison, to the present. I cannot doubt but that he knows that nullification is the CREED of the executive mansion at Washington, and has been so from the 4th day of April, 1841. I hazard nothing when I say, that nullification is the acting President's *conscience*. That it is at the root of all his vetoes, as well as of that masterpiece of executive legislation and statesmanship, approving and signing a bill, and depositing, in the department of State, reasons against it.

Fellow-citizens, I wish to speak to you of the present tenant of the People's House at Washington, with all the respect due to his present accidental dignity, and with all the tenderness due to the affliction of his recent domestic bereavement. I would even gladly spare his private virtues; but that the deepest moral obliquity of double-dealing is inseparable from the public official action of the man, and that this moral obliquity is urging him at once to his own ruin, and to that of his country.

"Allied, alas! forever to the crime,
No kind exemption can the person claim,
But blackens downward in the lapse of time,
The equal partner of eternal shame."

Charles the first, and George the third, were men of exemplary private character; but it is remarked by Blackstone, that the greatest of Charles's misfortunes was the loss, in the opinion of his people, of the reputation of *sincerity*.

And let me observe, that double-dealing men, though too well adapted, under every form of government, to make their way in the world, and to attain the summit of power, can seldom hold their course long under the inspection of the public eye, without being detected; and when detected, seen through forever after, in all the windings of their career.

But, fellow-citizens, my constituents—and it is in that capacity that I now earnestly invite your attention, as to a topic affecting your interests more vitally than any other thing this side of Heaven—nullification, portentous and fatal as it is to the prospects and welfare of this Union, is not the only instrument of southern domination, wielded by the executive arm at Washington. The dismemberment of our neighboring republic of Mexico, and the acquisition of an immense portion of her territories, from the mouth of the Rio del Norte to its source, and thence across the continent of North America to the Pacific ocean, including the port and harbor of San Francisco, in California, has been a gigantic and daring project of Andrew Jackson, already formed upon his first accession to the presidency, shaped and matured during its continuance, and which he once suffered himself to be deluded into the belief was so near its accomplishment, that he actually offered the government of the territory of Texas to Hutchins G. Burton, a distinguished citizen of North Carolina, now deceased, but in his lifetime well known to me. The policy of the Jackson administration towards Mexico, was worthy of Machiavel. A perpetual negotiation of treaties never to be executed, was carried on, in combinatoin with a continual urging for the cession of Texas; while Texas itself was stimulated to insurrection against Mexico, and finally raised the banner of independence, under the auspices of a Tennesseean officer, a military commander, favored and patronized by Jackson, and expatriated for the purpose of effecting this revolution—and it was accomplished. The Tennesseean neighbor and friend of Jackson is now the president of the republic of Texas, and at war with Mexico, which has never yet acknowledged her independence. But the United States have; and the manner in which the recognition was effected, affords a lucid commentary on the friendliness and good feeling, so loudly and confidently boasted of at the same time toward the republic of Mexico.

Fellow-citizens, I did, on a former occasion, when the projected annexation of Texas became a subject of deliberation in Congress, in a speech which, according to the arbitrary rules of the house, I was compelled to deliver in the scanty fragments, often interrupted, of the morning hour, from day to day, from the 16th of June to the 7th of July, 1838, expose and lay bare the double-dealing and perfidious policy of the federal administration toward Mexico, from the accession of Andrew Jackson to the presidency; his secret movements for the dismemberment of that republic, and his panting passion for the annexation, by cession or by war, of Texas to this Union. The session of Congress closed before I could finish my speech; so that my demonstration remained incomplete; but I had furnished evidence to satisfy any impartial mind of the Janus-faced policy which I then charged upon the administration; and the immediate effect of these disclosures, was the apparent abandonment of both the projects of war with Mexico, and annexing Texas, for about three years. My speech was published in a pamphlet, for it embraced the right of petition, and the freedom of speech, and of debate, not less than the annexation of Texas. I sent copies of it to some of my constituents, in almost every town of the district; and I presume many of you may have some recollection of it. Among the omissions to my demonstration at that time, of the double-dealing policy of the administration, was the evidence of the manner in which the recognition of the independence of Texas was smuggled through Congress. As the present envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico was one of the principal agents in that transaction, and as another transaction of a precisely similar character, and in pursuit of the same policy, occurred in the last half hour of the session of Congress just closed, it may be proper for me to invite your earnest and anxious attention to the facts which I shall now disclose, and which I take it for granted are known to few, if any of you.

The severance of Texas from Mexico, and its annexation to the United States, was undoubtedly an object to the colonists who went from the United States, and Houston's design to conquer and annex Texas, was, if not concerted with him, at least well known to him. In 1834, the revolt of Texas from Mexico was declared; precipitated, if not chiefly caused, by the abolition of slavery by the Mexican government. On the 2d of March, 1836, the Texan declaration of independence was issued; and on the 17th of the same month, a constitution of the republic was proclaimed—framed on the model of those of our southern States. It re-instituted the law of slavery, which Mexico had abolished; denied to the legislature the power of emancipating slaves; and to the owners of slaves, the power of emancipating them without the consent of the legislature; it excluded all Africans, and descendants of Africans and Indians, from the same, rights, and privileges of citizens, forever; interdicted the very entrance into the State, of any free colored persons, without the consent of the legislature; prohibited forever the admission of *Africans* or *negroes* into the republic, *except from the United States of America*; and declared it *piracy*, without affixing any penalty to the commission of the crime. There is a declaration of rights annexed to this constitution, and declared to be a part of it. This declaration embodies all the usual guards for the protection of liberty; but it avoids the base hypocrisy of declaring the equality of rights of all men, which pollutes some of our slave-soiled constitutions. The constitution of the republic of Texas, more warily worded, virtually repudiates the sublime doctrine of the natural rights of man, by merely saying, "All men, *when they form a social compact*, have equal rights"—and you all see how wide a margin this leaves for slavery and the slave trade, in their most hideous and disgusting forms.

Within five weeks after the proclamation of this constitution, followed the battle of San Jacinto; and from that day, the struggles of the southern politicians, who ruled the councils of this nation, were for upwards of two years unremitting, and unrelenting, by any principle of honor, honesty, and truth—openly avowed, and audaciously proclaimed, whenever they dared—clandestinely pursued, under delusive masks, and false colors, whenever the occasion required.

No sooner was the event of the battle of San Jacinto known, than memorials and resolutions, from various parts of the Union, were poured in upon Congress, calling upon that body for the immediate recognition of the independence of the republic of Texas. Many of memorials and resolutions came from the free States, and one of them from the legislature of Connecticut, then blindly devoted to the rank southern sectional policy of the Jackson administration, by that infatuation of northern sympathy with southern interests, which Mr. Appleton points out to our notice; and the true purposes of which had already been sufficiently divulged, in an address of Mr. Clement C. Clay to the legislature of Alabama. But there was another more hidden impulse to this extreme solicitude for the recognition of the independence of Texas, working in the free States, quite as ready to assume the mask and the cap of liberty, as the slave-dealing champions of the rights of man. The Texan land and liberty jobbers had spread the contagion of their land-jobbing traffic all over the free States throughout the Union. Land-jobbing, stock-jobbing, slave-jobbing, rights-of-man-jobbing, were all hand in hand, sweeping over the land like a hurricane.

The banks were all plunging into desperate debts, preparing for an universal suspension of specie payment, under the shelter of legislative protection, to flood the country with irredeemable paper. Gambling speculation was the madness of the day; and in the wide-spread ruin which we are now witnessing as the last stage of this moral pestilence.—Texan bonds and Texan lands form no small portion of the fragments from the wreck of money corporations, contributing to their assets of two or three cents to the dollar. All these interests furnished vociferous declaimers for the recognition of Texan independence.

These memorials and resolutions were in the House of Representatives referred to the committee on foreign affairs, which on the 4th day of July, 1836, the day on which that session closed, reported that they had not been able to collect such information of the political condition of Texas as would warrant an immediate recognition of her independence; but that the President had taken measures to collect that information. They recommended, therefore, two resolutions, both of which were adopted by the house. 1. That the independence of Texas ought to be acknowledged by the United States, whenever satisfactory information should be received that it had in successful operation a civil government, capable of performing the duties and fulfilling the obligations of an independent power; and 2d

the slave representation, and four northern men with southern principles, will, I think, afford to you sufficient *indications* of the sort of *neutrality* which prompted a Jackson majority of the house to close, with two such resolutions, a session commenced with such fair and faithful professions of *neutrality*, in President Jackson's message of 8th Dec. 1835.

During the recess between that session of Congress and the one which commenced in December, 1836, President Jackson vigorously pursued his measures to ascertain the political, military, and civil condition of Texas. He pursued also, at the same time, his negotiations to obtain from Mexico the cessions, not only of Texas, but of an immense territory besides, extending to the Pacific ocean, and including the port of San Francisco. At the same time, his neutrality between Mexico and Texas was manifested quite characteristically, by expressly authorizing Gen. Gaines to invade Mexico, and take post at Nacogdoches, under the absurd pretense of a *fear* that the fugitive remnant of Mexicans from the field of San Jacinto were stimulating the Cumanche Indians to invade the territory of the United States; which movement of Gen. Gaines was performed in perfect harmony with those of the Tennesseean commander-in-chief of the Texan army, under Gen. Houston. This act of flagrant war by order of a President of the United States, trampling at once upon their Constitution, which reserves to Congress alone the right of declaring war, and upon the territorial rights of Mexico, was met by the most earnest and persevering remonstrances from the minister of Mexico in the United States, till wearied out by the paltering, shuffling, equivocating diplomacy of Washington city, he demanded his passports, and went home, leaving behind him an indignant exposure of the whole proceeding, which the Jackson cabinet was not ashamed to hold up, as itself a grievous offense against the United States.

In the meantime President Jackson sent a special agent into Texas, to ascertain the political, military, and civil condition of that republic. At the commencement of the next session of Congress, in the annual message, he delivered a sanctimonious homily on the solemn obligations of the United States to preserve their neutrality, in the conflict between Mexico and Texas, and was quite scandalized at the testy humor of the Mexican minister, Gorostiza, for demanding his passports, and departing, because to his complaints of the unprovoked and wanton invasion of the Mexican territory, he had received nothing but insulting and prevaricating answers—and this captious temper of the Mexican minister was the more unaccountable, because he knew that General Gaines had received a reprimand from the Secretary of War, for executing his instructions, ordering him to cross the boundary of the Sabine, and occupy Nacogdoches.

A fortnight later, President Jackson, on the 22d December, 1836, sent a message to the House of Representatives, communicating the reports of the special agent, Henry M. Morfit, on his mission to ascertain the condition of Texas. The message enlarged with great earnestness upon the inexpediency of recognizing the independence of Texas, insisting that the measure would be contrary to the policy invariably observed by the United States in all similar cases until that time—that it would be marked with great injustice to Mexico, and peculiarly liable to the darkest suspicions, inasmuch as the Texans were almost all emigrants from the United States, and sought the recognition of their independence with the avowed purpose of attaining their annexation to the United States. Honor, honesty, fair dealing, and a regard for national faith, and national fame, all concurred, according to this message, absolutely to forbid, at that time, the acknowledgment by the United States of Texas as an independent State.

But during the brief remnant of time between the communication of this message to the House and the close of the session, which brought to a final close the powers of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, he was busily engaged in the double operation of negotiating for the cession of Texas to them, through the joint agency of his friends, the Tennesseean President of Texas, (Houston,) and the captive President of Mexico, (Santa Anna,) and of kindling up a war between that same Mexico and the United States. The war was a preliminary step to the acquisition of Texas by conquest, and the voluntary cooperation of the people of Texas themselves, without reaching the acknowledgment of their independence; and the liberation of Santa Anna from his captivity, during which he had been held in constant terror of being butchered in cold blood, was finally conceded, on condition that he should come to Washington, and pledge to Jackson all his influence to secure the cession by Mexico of Texas to the United States. He came accordingly to Washington; and on the 8th of February, 1837, President Jackson sent a thundering war message against Mexico, recommending to Congress to pass an act, authorizing reprisals and the use of the naval force by the executive against Mexico, to enable *them* [the executive] in the event of "the refusal by the Mexican government to come to an amicable adjustment of the matters in controversy between us, upon another demand thereof made from on board one of our vessels of war, on the coast of Mexico." This mode of enabling the executive to come to an *amicable* adjustment of controversies with a foreign nation was no other than a demand upon Congress to authorize *them* to make war upon Mexico, without any declaration at all. Who *them* was, did not appear on the face of the message, but as its author was about to close his career as President of the United States, and Martin Van Buren was already proclaimed his successor for a term of four years, if Congress had granted *them* the power requested in the message, the execution of it would hardly have been undertaken by Mr. Van Buren alone.

The obsequious committees of foreign affairs, in both houses of Congress, echoed back all the thunders of the war message against Mexico, without lisping a word about the constitutional exclusive prerogative of Congress to declare war. But Congress did not pass an act to authorize *them* to issue reprisals, nor to use the navy of the United States, nor to proffer an *amicable* adjustment of differences from the deck of a man-of-war on the Mexican coast. The committee of foreign affairs of the house, reported a resolution, that the independence of the republic of Texas ought to be acknowledged, but it found no favor with the house. It was laid on the table. Three other resolutions to the same effect, offered by individual members from the slave representation, were discarded in the same way—but in the last hour of that session of Congress, and of the presidency of Andrew Jackson, an amendment to the general appropriation bill of the year, moved by the member from South Carolina, now minister of the United States to Mexico, made an appropriation "for the outfit and salary of a diplomatic agent to be sent to the republic of Texas, whenever the President of the United States *may receive* satisfactory evidence that Texas is an independent power, and shall deem it expedient to appoint such minister." President Jackson approved and signed the bill containing this item of appropriation, and at the same instant sent to the senate a nomination of a charge d'affaires to the republic of Texas, which was instantly advised and consented to by the senate; and thus it was that the independence of the republic of Texas was recognized by the United States. What interval there was between the President's signing the bill, and his nomination of the diplomatic agent, for him to receive the satisfactory evidence that Texas was an independent power, and what had become of the solemn moral obligation of the United States to observe a rigorous neutrality between Mexico and Texas, so emphatically asserted in the opening message of the session, and so urgently recommended in the message of 2d December, 1836, you are left to judge, and I leave you to judge with what face the United States can boast of their amicable treatment of Mexico, or of the fair dealing of their government with her.

But the great work, the slave breeding conspiracy against the freedom of the North, of which nullification and the forty-bale theory formed one division, Texas and the dismemberment of Mexico another, was but half consummated by the closing act of Jackson's administration. The controlling object of this whole system of policy was, and yet is, to obtain a nursery of slaveholding States, to break down forever the ascendant power of the free States, and to fortify, beyond all possibility of reversal, the institution of slavery. The day after the appointment of the charge d'affaires to the republic of Texas, Mr. Van Buren, a northern man with southern principles, assumed the functions of President of the United States. The recognition of the independence of Texas availed nothing, and was much worse than nothing, without her annexation to the United States.

Mr. Van Buren's administration commenced with a call for a special session of Congress; and on the 3d of October, 1837, he communicated, in answer to a resolution of inquiry from the house of representatives, a report from the Secretary of State, John Forsyth, a correspondence with Memucan Hunt, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the republic of Texas, containing the formal proposition for her annexation to the United States, and the answer of Mr. Van Buren, declining it.

But that slave breeding passion for the annexation was not to be so disconcerted. At the ensuing session of Congress, numerous petitions and memorials for and against the annexation, were presented to the house, and with resolutions of the State legislatures of Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi, in favor of the annexation, and of Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Michigan, against it, were referred to the committee of foreign affairs, who, without ever taking them into consideration, towards the close of the session asked to be discharged from the consideration of them all. It was on this report that the debate arose, in which I exposed the whole system of duplicity and perfidy towards Mexico, which had marked the Jackson administration, from its commencement to its close.

It silenced the clamors for the annexation of Texas to this Union for three years, til the catastrophe of the Van Buren administration. The people of the free States, were lulled into the belief that the whole project was abandoned, and that they should hear no more of slave trade cravings for the annexation of Texas. Had Harrison lived, they would have heard no more of them to this day—but no sooner was John Tyler installed in the President's house, than nullification, and Texas, and war with Mexico, rose again upon the surface, with eye steadily fixed upon the polar star of southern slave-dealing supremacy in the government of the Union.

Very shortly after the accession of Mr. Tyler, in the summer of 1841, after three years interval, and numerous givings-out of the aversion of the Texans, to being annexed to the United States, a military expedition was fitted out by the then President of Texas, against the Mexican city of Santa Fé, at the head of the Rio Bravo. They marched in battle array, and although, until it met with disaster, scarcely known or noticed in this part of the country, it was so well known in those southwestern States bordering on Texas, that this invasion was carried on chiefly by citizens of the United States, even now professing to hold with Mexico the friendly intercourse of peace. Had the expedition been against the city of Philadelphia—and General Jackson had been called out in command of a militia corps to intercept them, and on intercepting them, had found among them one or two hundred of British subjects fresh from the Bahama islands, his disposal of Arbuthnot and Ambrister furnishes conclusive evidence of what *he* would have deemed the rightful exercise of the laws of war with regard to them. He would have given them the formality of a court-martial, and then have hung them up on the first tree, as warning to British subjects not to meddle with the quarrels of their neighbors.

The Texan expedition was ill-starred—instead of taking and rioting upon the beauty and booty of Santa Fé, they were all captured themselves, without even the glory of putting a price upon their lives. They surrendered without firing a gun. The administration at Washington had endured all this open, barefaced violation of neutrality, without moving a finger, or uttering a word to control it; but the instant the expedition was prostrated in ignominious defeat, was roused by messenger after messenger, and convulsed with agitation, calling for the vindictive arm of the nation, to shed the blood of war to rescue these ruffians from the captivity into which they had fallen, or to bully the Mexican government into the free release of all this lawless banditti. They undertook it, and they succeeded. Santa Anna, whom we are all accustomed to revile, as a monster of human cruelty, caused them all to be released, with a gentle warning to them and their countrymen, not to be caught again in repeating the same experiment; while the present President of Texas, the Tennesseean victor of San Jacinto, issues proclamations, and letters of instructions, and grants promises of lands to his recruiting officers of New Orleans, and raises regiments of Uncle Sam's children for another invasion of Mexico; and while the guardian of this nation's neutrality slumbers in the palace at Washington, and the spirit and argumentation of diplomacy are circulated to demonstrate before the public opinion of civilized men, the fairness, and equity, and generosity of *all* our political intercourse with the republic of Mexico.

My countrymen, rely upon it, there is now, even now, in the political relations of your administration at Washington, with Mexico and with Texas, treachery to your interests of the deepest dye. I mean not to implicate in this censure the Secretary of State, whose official correspondence on this subject is marked with his usual ability, and who, having thesis to maintain, has maintained it as a duty to be discharged.

That the Santa Fé expedition originated, and was concerted within these States, there can be no doubt, probably in the State of Tennessee. That it was known, countenanced, and encouraged, at the presidential house, is more than suspected. For, while it was on foot, and before it was known, frequent hints were given in public journals, moved by executive impulses, that, at the ensuing winter session, the annexation of Texas was to be introduced by a citizen of the highest distinction. The legislatures of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and even Kentucky, actually brought the Pandora's box again before Congress, and the total failure of the Santa Fé expedition, with the early discomfiture of the war faction in Congress, discarded again for the moment, and only for the moment, the project to which southern nullification clings, with the grasp of death.

The secret participation of your administration at Washington in this incursion of banditti from Texas against Santa Fé, and that it was organized for the express purpose of provoking a war between the United States and Mexico, is evidenced not only by the unjustifiable tone of menace assumed by this administration, in demanding the release of the citizens of the United States, taken prisoners in arms upon this marauding expedition—nor yet only by the enormously extravagant increase, both of the army and navy, urgently recommended to Congress in the reports of both the secretaries of war and of the navy, at the commencement of the session, contemporaneous with the President's wailings at the bankrupt condition of the treasury, and his ludicrous recommendations of economy and retrenchment of the public expenditures; but I will now tell you of another legislative exploit, achieved in the last half hour of the late session of Congress, to make you, my constituents, pay, with your money, for this blustering rescue of American citizens from the punishment which they had incurred for warring against Mexico under the banners of Texas.

Towards the close of the late session, a treaty had been concluded with the Wyandot tribe of Indians, which required an appropriation of money to be carried into execution. A bill for that purpose was introduced into the senate; and what think you was tacked to it while on its passage through that body?

First, a sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to defray the expenses of the judicial courts of the United States, in the year.

At a preceding period of the session, Congress, in a paroxysm of retrenchment and reform, had curtailed this sum of one hundred thousand dollars from the sum proposed by the commitee of ways and means, for the expenses of the judicial courts, in the general, civil, and diplomatic appropriation bill. When the motion for retrenching the hundred thousand dollars was made, the chairman of the committee of ways and means, Millard Fillmore, one of the ablest, most faithful, and fairest-minded men with whom it has been my fortune to serve in public life, remonstrated against the reduction, and urged the indispensable necessity of the appropriation to defray the unavoidable expenses of the courts in the administration of justice; but he spoke in vain. The cry for retrenchment drowned his voice, and the appropriation was reduced. But now, just at the close of the session, it was found, that unless the appropriation was restored, the judicial courts could not be held, and justice herself would be at a stand. So the notable device was resorted to in the senate, of inserting this *retrenched* hundred thousand dollars, as an amendment to the bill for defraying the expenses of the Wyandot treaty—and it was so introduced, was adopted by both houses of Congress, approved and signed by the President of the United States, and is now the law of the land.

You remember, fellow-citizens, that the main-stay of President Tyler's reasons for his veto of the first tariff bill was, that it connected together *two different subjects*; and you have not forgotten the display of argument by which he proved how unconstitutional, and how inadmissible it was that Congress should send to him, for his approval and signature, a bill embracing two different subjects. Can you discover any congruity, not to say any identity of subject, between appropriations to defray the expenses of a treaty with the Wyandot Indians, and for defraying the expenses of the judicial courts? Yet President Tyler approved and signed the bill, without even depositing in the department of State his reasons against it. But the second *tack* to the Wyandot treaty appropriation bill, was a sum of six thousand dollars, if so much should be needed, to defray the expenses of the legation of the United States in Mexico, in maintaining, supporting, and sending home, the citizens of the United States, taken prisoners in aggressive war against Mexico, under Texan colors, in a *trading* expedition to take possession of Santa Fé. Impartial neutrality! magnanimous justice to Mexico!

This appropriation of six thousand dollars, lawless in every sense of the word, of your money, my constituents, yes, of the hard earnings of your industry by the sweat of your brows, was introduced into the Wyandot treaty bill, by a senator from South Carolina, one of the field marshals of nullification from its first outbreak; one of the sturdiest champions for the exclusion of your interests from the national protection, and one of the most eloquent of the land-robbing, debt-paying, Anglo-Saxon race, scorching with thirst for the annexation of Texas to this Union, to rivet forever the chains of slavery, and to bind them on you and your posterity forever. It was introduced without law, without estimates from any department, without color of claim from any pretense of authority for the expenditure. Yet the senate adopted it in silent acquiescence. The bill was sent to the house on the day before the close of the session. The house at once struck this item of appropriation out of the bill, and the senate concurred in the exclusion. You think your money and that of your country is rescued from the hand of the spoiler. Not at all. In the last hour of the session, the same senator from South Carolina offers a joint resolution of the two houses, making the same appropriation of six thousand dollars, which, but the day before, had been excluded from the Wyandot treaty bill. It slipped through the senate in silence, and came to the house. The Constitution of the United States expressly forbids the drawing of any money from the treasury, unless upon appropriations made BY LAW—and it prescribes the enactment of *laws*, exclusively by *bill*, and not by joint resolution. Never before had money been drawn from the treasury by joint resolution, except it were money previously authorized to be drawn *by law*. The distinction had been scrupulously adhered to from the first organization of the government, until that day. When the resolution came to the house, they were in impatient confusion, waiting for the moment of adjournment. The instant the resolution was read, the previous question was moved on its passing to a second reading. I instantly objected that no money could be drawn from the treasury, on such a resolution; without any attempt to answer me, a bare majority of a doubtful quorum sustained the previous question, and passed the resolution to the second reading. There is a rule of the house, that every appropriation of money shall be first considered in committee of the whole house. I appealed to that rule, and was told it was too late. The previous question was again moved and sustained, and again at the third reading; the resolution was thus driven through, and that same hour was approved and signed by the President, and the only barrier in the forms of the Constitution against the most reckless and profligate squandering of the people's money is, I fear, broken down forever. A more fatally contagious example of embezzlement of the public moneys could not, indeed, have been given. I remonstrated, after the close of the session, against the drawing of any money from the treasury under this resolution, at both the departments of State and of the Treasury; with no better success than I had in the house.

Fellow-citizens,—You can have but a faint and imperfect conception of the character of this transaction, without recollecting the *object* of this prostration of Constitution, laws, rules for conducting business in the houses of Congress, and every bolt and bar protective of your public treasury. It was the dismemberment of Mexico, and the annexation of an immense portion of its territory to the slave representation of this Union. Ask yourselves if the internal evidence is not irresistible, that the expedition against Santa Fé was planned within your boundaries, and committed to the execution of your citizens, under the shelter of Texan banners and commissions.

Let me advert again to the important disclosure in the letter of Mr. Appleton to his constituents, from which I have taken the liberty of reading to you an extract. Nullification was generated in the hot-bed of slavery. It drew its breath in the land, where the meaning of the word democracy is, that a majority of the people are the goods and chattels of the minority. That more than one-half of the people are not men, women, and children, but things to be treated by their owners, not exactly like dogs and horses, but like tables, chairs, and joint-stools. That they are not even fixtures to the soil, as in countries where servitude is divested of its most hideous features; not even beings in the mitigated degradation from humanity of beasts, or birds, or creeping things; but destitute not only of the sensibilities of our own race of men, but of the sensations of all animated nature. That is the native land of nullification, and it is a theory of constitutional law, worthy of its origin. *Democracy*, pure democracy, has at least its foundation in a generous theory of human rights. It is founded on the natural equality of mankind. It is the corner-stone of the Christian religion. It is the first *element* of *all* lawful government upon earth.

I need not tell you, fellow-citizens, that nullification was no part of the political system of Andrew Jackson. It had been born and bred in South Carolina, during the term of his immediate predecessor; reared as a giant to demolish the protective and internal improvement policy, introduced, fostered, and promoted by none more than South Carolina herself, but which, by experience, was found to favor more the prosperity of free than of slave labor. Jackson had entered upon his office of chief magistrate the friend of a judicious tariff—of a national bank—of internal improvement, and of free domestic industry; but with the dream of dismembering Mexico, and of restoring slavery to Texas, and of surrounding the South with a girdle of slave States, to eternize the blessings of the peculiar institutions, and spread them like a garment of praise over the whole North American Union. Nullification was no part of his system, but he turned it to good account for the promotion of his own purposes. Nullification was a system to make a spurious, unlimited *State* sovereignty ride over the authority of the people of the United States, who made their constitutions, because they had conferred on the general government only limited powers. But *sovereignty* was unlimited. The States were *sovereign*. Their power was unlimited, and therefore paramount to that of the federal government.

This was the ingenuity of which the forty-bale theory was a collateral emanation. But the first batteries of nullification were opened against the government of the Union itself, and Jackson was at its head. Nullification made a demonstration of actual rebellion. It assembled a convention of the people of South Carolina, which, by sovereign State right, nullified a revenue law of the Union. Jackson issued his proclamation, declaring his determination to execute the law. The faithful, believing, confiding North, even our own Faneuil Hall, pledged him in their support—Congress enacted a law giving him ample powers to reduce the rebels to submission. At that same moment, the honest nullifier, by a compromise of slavery against the free labor of the North, succeeded in saving himself from the penalties of rebellion, in withdrawing from the absurdities of the forty-bale theory, and in establishing the supremacy of the South at the capitol, and at the President's house, for at least nine years.

Jackson, holding in his hand the rod of chastisement, in the force bill, instead of using it, accepted the compromise, and combining it with the projected dismemberment of Mexico, and acquisition of Texas, with the extirpation of the Indians from the southern States, and with the sacrifice of all the public lands to private adventurers, and to the States in which the lands are situated—engrafted upon these principles the extinguishment of all internal improvement by the authority of the national government; the suppression of all public credit, because there was no public debt; uncompromising hostility to a national bank, for the absurdity of an exclusive hard money currency; and a reduction of the duties on imports, by an imaginary scale of public economy, formed a system of administration totally adverse to that founded by Washington at the first organization of the government, and continued, with slight modifications, rather of theory than of practise, until the advent of Jackson to the presidency. His system was unfolded at great length in his annual message to Congress, of December, 1832, contrasting so diametrically with his proclamation of almost the same date, against South Carolina nullification, that on reading them, men stared at each other, and inquired which was the bane, and which the antidote. The message was, in truth, the prelude to the compromise between nullification, State supremacy, and a horizontal tariff, at the expense of the free labor of the North. The Jackson system was at the time reviewed and controverted in the report of the minority of the committee of manufactures, in February, 1833; but it was established by the tariff compromise of that same session, working with all the subsequent arbitrary and oppressive measures of that and the next succeeding administration, a gradual, but steadily spreading decline and fall of the public credit, of the national revenue, of the general welfare, till they were found, at the presidential election of 1840, one universal ruin. The spirit of the people throughout the Union had, during the same time, been gladly and slowly roused to a pitch of almost equally universal indignation—a succession of enormous executive usurpations had kindled a flame which could not be suppressed—a party was formed on the express principle of resistance to executive usurpations, and took the name of *whigs*, as most significant of their common impulse to check and control these usurpations, and to place in the executive chair a chief who would revert to the political system and principles of Washington.

The total abandonment, by President Jackson, of all internal improvement by authority of Congress, and of all national protection to domestic industry, was a part of the same system, which, in the message of December, 1832, openly recommended to give away gratuitously all the public lands, and renounce forever all idea of raising any revenue from them. This was nullification in its most odious feature. The public lands are the richest inheritance ever bestowed by a bountiful Creator upon any national community. All the mines of gold, silver, and precious stones on the face or in the bowels of the globe, are in value, compared to them, but the dust of the balance. Ages upon ages of continual progressive improvement, physical, moral, political, in the condition of the whole people of this Union, were stored up in the possession and disposal of those lands. The root of the doctrine of nullification is, that if the internal improvement of the country should be left to the legislative management of the national government, and the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should be applied as a perpetual and self-accumulating fund for that purpose, the blessings unceasingly showered upon the people by this process would so grapple the affections of the people to the national authority, that it would, in process of time, overshadow that of the State governments, and settle the preponderancy of power in the free States—and then, the undying worm of conscience twinges with terror for the fate of *the peculiar institutions*. Slavery stands aghast at the prospective promotion of the general welfare, and flies to nullification for defense against the energies of freedom, and the inalienable rights of man.

Fellow-citizens—On closing my relations of personal communication with you as your representative in Congress, it may be proper for me to advert to the position which I have occupied in that body, and to the principles which I have observed in that capacity.

There are two different party divisions always operating in the House of Representatives of the United States—one sectional, North and South—or, in other words, slave and free; the other political—both sides of which have been known at different times by different names, but are now usually denominated whigs and democrats. The southern or slave party, outnumbered by the free, are cemented together by a common, intense interest of property to the amount of $1,200,000,000 in human beings, the very existence of which is neither allowed nor tolerated in the North. It is the opinion of many theoretical reasoners on the subject of government, that whatever may be its form, the ruling power of every nation is its property. Mr. Van Buren, in one of his messages to Congress, gravely pointed out to them the anti-republican tendencies of associated wealth. Reflect now upon the tendencies of twelve hundred millions of dollars of associated wealth, directly represented in your national legislature by one hundred members, together with one hundred and forty members representing persons only—freemen, not chattels. Reflect also, that this twelve hundred millions of dollars of property is peculiar in its character, and comes under a classification once denominated by a governor of Virginia *property acquired by crime*—that it sits easy upon the conscience of its owner—that in the purification of human virtue and the progress of the Christian religion, it has become, and is daily becoming, more and more odious—that Washington and Jefferson, themselves slaveholders living and dying, bore testimony against it—that it was the dying REMORSE of John Randolph—that it is renounced and abjured by the supreme pontiff of the Roman Church: abolished with execration by the Mahometan despot of Tunis; shaken to its foundations by the imperial autocrat of all the Russias, and the absolute monarch of Austria—all, all bearing reluctant and extorted testimony to the self-evident truth, that by the laws of Nature, and of Nature's God, man cannot be the property of man. Recollect that the first cry of human feeling against this unhallowed outrage upon human rights came from ourselves, from the Quakers of Pennsylvania—that it passed from us to England—from England to France, and spread over the whole civilized world—that after struggling for nearly a century against the most sordid interests and most furious passions of man, it made its way at length into the parliament, and ascended the throne of the British Isles. The slave trade was made piracy, first by the Congress of the United States, and then by the parliament of Great Britain. But the curse fastened by the progress of Christian charity, and of human rights, upon the African slave trade, could not rest there. If the African slave trade was piracy, the coasting American slave trade could not be innocent—nor could its aggravated turpitude be denied. In the sight of the same God who abhors the iniquity of the African slave trade, neither the American slave trade, nor slavery itself, can be held guiltless. From the suppression of the African slave trade, therefore, the British parliament, impelled by the irresistible influence of the British people, proceeded to point the battery of its power against slavery itself. At the expense of one hundred millions of dollars, it abolished slavery, and emancipated all the slaves in the British transatlantic colonies, and the government entered upon a system of negotiation with all the powers of the world, for the ultimate extinction of slavery throughout the globe.

The utter and unqualified inconsistency of slavery, in any of its forms, with the principles of the North American Revolution and the Declaration of our Independence, had so forcibly struck the southern champions of our rights, that the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of slaves was a darling project of Thomas Jefferson, from his first entrance into public life to the last years of his existence. But the associated wealth of the slaveholders outweighed the principles of the revolution, and by the Constitution of the United States a compromise was established between slavery and freedom. The extent of the sacrifice of principles made by the North in this compromise, can be estimated only by its practical effects. The principle is, that the House of Representatives of the United States is a representation only of the persons and freedom of the North, and of the persons, property and slavery of the South. Its practical operation has been to fix the balance of power in the House, and in every department of the government, in the hands of the minority of numbers. For practical results, look to the present composition of your government, in all its departments. The President of the United States—the President of the Senate—the Speaker of the House, are all slaveholders. The chief justice, and four others, out of nine judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, are slaveholders. The commander-in-chief of your army, and the general next in command, are slaveholders. A vast majority of all the officers of your navy, from the highest to the lowest, are slaveholders. Of six heads of the executive departments, three are slaveholders; securing thus, with the President, a majority in all cabinet consultations and executive councils. From the commencement of this century, upwards of 40 years, the office of chief justice has been always held by slaveholders; and when, upon the death of Judge Marshall, the two senior justices upon the bench were citizens of free States, and unsurpassed in eminence of reputation, both for learning in the law and for spotless integrity, they were both overlooked and overslaughed by a slaveholder, far inferior to either of them in reputation as a lawyer, and chiefly eminent for his obsequious servility to the usurpations of Andrew Jackson, for which this unjust elevation to the supreme judicial bench was the reward.

As to the house itself, if an article of the Constitution had prescribed, or a standing rule of the house had required, that no other than a slaveholder should ever be its speaker, the regulation could not be more rigorously observed than it is by the compact movements by the slave representation in the house. Of the last six speakers of the house, including the present, every one has been a slaveholder. It is so much matter of course to see such a person in the chair, that if a northern man but thinks of aspiring to the chair, he is only made a laughing-stock of the house. With such consequences staring us in the face, what are we to think when we are told that the government of the United States is a democracy of numbers; a government by a majority of the people? Do you not see that the one hundred representatives of persons, property and slavery, marching in solid phalanx upon every question of interest to their constituents, will always outnumber the one hundred and forty representatives only of persons and freedom, scattered, as their votes always will be, by conflicting interests, prejudices and passions? But this is not all. The second party division in the house to which I have alluded is political, and known at present by the names of whigs and democrats, or locofocos. The latter are remarkable for an exquisite tenderness of affection for the people, and especially for the poor, provided their skins are white, and against the rich. But it is no less remarkable that the princely slaveholders of the South are among the most thoroughgoing of the democrats; and their alliance with the northern democracy is one of the cardinal points of their policy. Mr. Jefferson delivered it to them as the keystone to the arch of southern statesmanship, and Mr. Clement C. Clay, in impressing it upon the legislature of Alabama, gave them an illustration of its wisdom in the fact, that on the nomination of Edward Everett, as minister to Great Britain, all the democratic senators from the North voted against him.

With the aid of this policy, Thomas Jefferson, by an open and avowed violation of the Constitution which he had sworn to support, effected, by an act of Congress alone, the annexation of Louisiana to this Union; and by virtue of that precedent, Florida was afterwards annexed in like manner. This was an enormous accession of strength to the southern or slaveholding section—but it was not enough. By the dismemberment of Mexico, Texas and a territory of five hundred thousand square miles, might be annexed to the Union. Mexico had abolished slavery, but Texas had restored it and made it irrevocable. Ten States, with each a population exceeding that of Virginia, might be carved out of this territory, and place on immovable foundations the supremacy and perpetuity of the slaveholding power.

Are you incredulous of the possibility that the free representation of the North should be wheedled into the support of a system, so diametrically opposite to the first elements of the true democracy, and to the clearest interests of their own sections? Mr. Appleton has apprised you of the charm by which New Hampshire has been converted into an anti-tariff State; and the same spell which has been of potency sufficient to fasten the Artherton gag upon the sacred right of petition, will find it equally ready to sacrifice all the inalienable rights of man to the Moloch of slavery, and to fasten, from the plunder of Mexico, ten slave spotted States upon the Union, to settle for all time, and beyond the possibility of redemption, the preponderancy of southern slavery over the democracy and the freedom of the North.

I entered the national House of Representative in December, 1831, with an assurance to the constituents by whom I was elected, that I should hold myself bound in alliance to no party, whether sectional or political. I thought this a duty imposed upon me by my peculiar position. I spent the greatest portion of my life in the service of the whole nation, and had been honored with their highest trust. My duty of fidelity, of affection, and of gratitude to the whole, was not merely inseparable from, but identical with, that which was due from me to my own native commonwealth. The internal conflict between slavery and freedom, had been and still was scarcely perceptible in the national councils. The Missouri compromise had laid it asleep, it was hoped, forever. The development of the moral principle which pronounces slavery a *crime* of man against his brother man, had not yet reached the conscience of all Christendom. The leading monarchy of Europe, earnestly and zealously occupied in rallying the physical, moral, and intellectual energies of civilized man against the African slave trade, had scarcely yet discovered that the African slave trade was but an instrument, and in truth a mitigation, of the great irremissible wrong of slavery. Her fine policy, the extinction of slavery throughout the earth, was not yet disclosed. The Jackson project of dismembering Mexico for the acquisition of Texas, already organized and in full operation, was yet profoundly secret. I entered Congress without one sentiment of discrimination between the interests of North and South, and my first act as a member of the house, was, on presenting fifteen petitions *from Pennsylvania* for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, to declare, while moving their reference to the committee on the District, that I was not prepared to support the measure myself, and should not support it. I was, therefore, not then a *sectional* partisan, and never have been to this day.

In the *political* division of parties, my opinions and principles were all in favor of the executive administration of the national government, then formidably assailed by South Carolina nullification, under the shield and with the artillery of State sovereignty. President Jackson had placed himself out of the reach of all friendly personal intercourse with me; but through the whole term of his administration, I gave to it my cordial support, for every measure which I believed constitutional, and useful to the interests of the country. He had, indeed, pronounced his veto upon the Maysville road bill, but he had not proclaimed his war of extermination against a national bank, nor against internal improvements, nor against the protection of our manufactures, nor against the proceeds of the public lands. It was not till his message of December, 1832, that he disclosed the extent of his most pernicious political system, repudiating all the maxims of Washington and his policy, the cardinal points of which had, through all the previous changes of administration, stood unshaken till that day. In the preceding summer of 1832, I had, in perfect concert with his administration—as chairman of the committee of manufactures—carried through the tariff act of that year, which, if it had been suffered to continue to this day, would have provided all the revenue necessary for the expenditures of the government, without excess or deficiency, and without a dollar of debt now to be paid. In his controversy with France, while resisting his grasp at the war-declaring power of Congress, I sustained him in his peremptory demand for the faithful execution of a ratified treaty. In his controversy with South Carolina, I voted to furnish him the means of sustaining his proclamation, and suppressing the threatened insurrection under the banners of nullification.—But in his furious and vindictive war against a national bank—in his usurpation of the control of the treasury—in his perficious course of policy towards the Indian tribes, and Mexico—in his pocket vetoes, and judicial misconstruction of a law approved and signed by himself—in his political proscriptions, his kitchen cabinet consultations—his overbearing and humiliating degradation of his official cabinet ministers, and his insulting imputations upon the members of Congress, including his own partisans—I opposed him so long as he held the reins of power; seldom, indeed, with success, but at least in averting a war with Mexico, and defeating, for a time, the transfer of the balance of power from the freedom to the slavery of the Union.

It was during the Jackson administration, that the *sectional* division of parties became preponderant, in and out of Congress, by the collision between slavery and freedom, which has prostrated, for the time, and suspended, in defiance of the Constitution, the sacred right of petition. The existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, had always been a source of mortification and disgust to the people of the free States. As the general detestation of the African slave trade was spreading over Europe, it came back, by reflection, to the country where it had originated. Petitions, memorials, and remonstrances against slavery and the slave trade in the District, multiplied not only by the natural sympathies of humanity, but by a numerous host of anti-slavery societies, which started up, almost at once, throughout all the free States. The great convenience to the South of the nullification doctrine, is that it accommodates itself to every exercise of power by Congress, which interferes, directly or indirectly, with the black code. When the abolition petitions began to multiply, some forty-bale theorist made the discovery that Congress, with express power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever over the District, had yet no power to abolish slavery; and having no such power, the people had no right to petition Congress for anything which Congress had no power to grant; and so conclusive was this logic, south of Mason and Dixon's line, that when Mr. Van Buren, as a northern man with southern principles, became a candidate for the succession to the presidency, he was specially catechised for his opinion upon this point, and he answered the inquiry by a compromise. He thought it not quite safe to deny the power of Congress, but he held that the exercise of the power was as much interdicted as if it did not exist; and he faithfully promised a veto, if, while he should be President, majorities of both houses of Congress should pass an abolition act. On the faith of this and other acclimated pledges, Mr. Van Buren was elected by southern votes; and with the auxiliary force of the northern democracy, the southern sectional policy became the supreme law of the land. The right of petition was suppressed—internal improvement was arrested—the manufacturing interest was outlawed—the public lands were devoted to devastation and waste—and the States, stimulated by floods of spurious currency to incur burdensome debts for their own improvements, are stripped of the funds from which they had a right to expect the means of making their payments, and are driven to the desperate resource of repudiation.

It is, then, the *sectional* division of parties, or in other words, the conflict between freedom and slavery, which constitutes the axle round which the administration of your national government revolves. All its measures of foreign and domestic policy are but radiations from that centre. John Tyler is a Virginian slaveholder. All the affections of his soul are bound up in the system of supporting, spreading, and perpetuating the peculiar institutions of the South. The *political* division of parties with him, and with all southern statesmen of his stamp, is a mere instrument of power, to purchase auxiliary support to the cause of slavery, even from the freemen of the North. Democracy! Why, upon what foundation can democracy find a foothold to stand, but upon the rights of man; upon the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence? Democracy and slavery! The greatest good of the greatest number—and the greatest number the *property* of the smallest! A government of majorities—and a majority the chattels of the minority! Is not the brand of *double-dealer* stamped on the forehead of every democratic slaveholder? Are not fraud and hypocrisy the religion of the man who calls himself a democrat, and holds his fellow-man in bondage?

I could have no confidence in Mr. Tyler. At the very threshold of the session, in the convulsive struggle of the South to restore the gag-rule against the right of petition, his name and *official influence* had been used with fatal success in the debates of the house, to reverse the thrice repeated vote of the majority to suppress the rule. Mr. Tyler had suffered his name and influence to be thus publicly used, without disclaiming his participation in this gross outrage upon the independence of the representatives of the people. The southern whig, first mover of that rule, declared in the house, that he had a letter from Mr. Tyler expressing his approbation of it, and complimenting him upon the part he had performed in procuring its adoption. And the corporal of Mr. Tyler's guard declared that *he knew* that the President of the United States was in favor of the rule. I had been a member of the select committee which had reported the *second* of the vetoed *bank* bills—and had witnessed, through all its tergiversations, the conduct of Mr. Tyler in the progress and final catastrophe both of that and of its predecessor, the Senate Bill. A thorough conviction that slavery and nullification were the corner stone of Mr. Tyler's politics, and duplicity of his morals, forced itself upon my observation, and I was ready to say, like Shakspeare's Hamlet—

> "It is not, nor it cannot come to good;
> But, break my heart; for I must hold my tongue."

The estimate for the navy expenses of the year 1842, accompanying the report, was eight millions two hundred and thirteen thousand two hundred and eighty-seven dollars and twenty-three cents—exceeding by two millions four hundred and seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-six dollars and sixty-four cents, the appropriations of the preceding year.

In the same report which proposed the increase of the navy, to equal one half of that of Great Britain, it was stated that England had "more than eight times as many vessels of war as the United States, exclusive of her steamships." To equal one half of her naval force then, the United States must build three times the whole number of their present vessels of war, besides at least forty steamers, which, at an expense proportioned to the estimates of the present year, would amount to upwards of twenty-four millions of dollars a year additional to it. Thirty millions of dollars a year would thus not suffice to cover the expense to the people of the navy, thus seriously proposed and zealously urged by the Secretary of the Navy, with the appropriate smile of President Tyler.

With such professions of rigorous retrenchment and economy upon paper, and such samples of the practical application of them in the annual message and its attendant executive reports, what could I forebode of the prudence, discretion, or political economy, of Mr. John Tyler's administration? What worse than senseless babbling must it be to any man capable of combining together two rational ideas, with a disgraced and insolvent treasury, to use the

was effected in this manner. Two members from the State whose motto is virtue, liberty, and independence, and who had voted against the rule, moved and carried *reconsiderations*—to keep the balance between North and South in their own hands. Then came another notable device—the appointment of a select committee, composed of course of five slaveholding members, and four from the free States, to report a revisal of *all* the rules. Then a proposition to exclude the reception of *all* petitions, till after the report of this select committee, [except on subjects specially noticed in the President's message.] This committee never reported till the last day but one before the close of the session, and then nothing could be done but to lay the report on the table. The good nature of the free representation, circumvented by this show of a compromise, yielded to the exclusion of petitions *for that session*, and never recovered the right.

The yielders commended themselves by their concession to the good feelings of the South, and she patted them on the back as good honest fellows, albeit abolitionists, and laughed in her sleeve to find how easily yankee cunning could be outwitted. This compromising with principle, to appease the South, is one of the means of obtaining personal influence with southern members. The refusal to serve with me upon the committee of foreign affairs, was another sprig of the same stock. I do not believe there has ever been, since the existence of the general government, another instance of a combined squad of members refusing to serve on a standing committee of the house, with one member of the house, because they could not remove him from the counsels of the nation by expulsion, or turn him out from the chair of the committee, without a shadow of assignable reason for the act.

I must do many of the members of the House of Representatives from the South the justice to say, that their treatment of me is dictated far more by the passions and prejudices of their constituents than by their own. Were it not for this curse of slavery, there are some of them with whom I should be upon terms of the most intimate and confidential friendship. There are many for whom I entertain high esteem, respect, affectionate attachment. There are even those among them who stood by me in my trials, and scorned to join in the league to sacrifice me as a terror to others. But I have been so often painted to the South with the horns of abolition upon my head, that if I were to step south of the Potomac, the people would be looking down for the cloven foot. All this I endeavor to take in good humor as I may; and in that spirit, and as a sample of the feeling of respectable southern *constituents* towards me, I will read you from a Charleston newspaper, a toast drank with unbounded applause, at a public patriotic dinner at Walterborough, on the last 4th of July, in celebration of the 67th anniversary of our national independence.

"The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good George Washington, not forgetting Generals Marion and Sumter, who assisted in relieving us from king George's slavery, arbitrary power, stamp paper, and compulsory tea-drinking. May we never want a democrat to trip up the heels of a federalist, or a hangman to prepare a halter for John Quincy Adams. (9 cheers.)"

[At this point Mr. Adams's constituents greeted the toast with a hearty shout of laughter.]

Communications.

MOB IN BOSTON! MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

Compiled from several Boston letters.

I hasten to give you a brief account of the recent meeting in Faneuil Hall. The following is a copy of the placard which called the meeting together;

GRAND MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL, FOR THE RESCUE OF LIBERTY.

A public meeting of the citizens of Boston and vicinity will be held in the Old Cradle of Liberty, on Sunday evening next, Oct. 30, at 6 o'clock, to consider the subject of providing additional safeguards for the protection of the personal liberty of the people of this commonwealth, particularly in the case of those claimed as offenders against the laws of other States, and as the goods and chattels of southern slaveholders. Bostonians! friends of the rights of man! descendants of the Pilgrim fathers! sons of revolutionary sires! followers of Him who came to open the prison-doors, and to set the captive free! shall Boston, shall Massachusetts, be made the hunting-ground of human kidnappers? Shall our soil be polluted by the footprints of slavery? Shall shelter and protection be denied to wronged and bleeding humanity? Shall they, who have escaped from the southern prison-house of bondage to our State, be allowed by us to be seized with impunity, and dragged back to chains and torture? Shall our Constitution be trampled under foot by the iron heel of tyranny, and our bill of rights be made "a blurred and tattered parchment," for the accommodation of men-stealers, and of those who "trade in slaves and souls of men?"

"Shall Massachusetts stand erect no longer,
But stoop in chains upon her downward way,
Thicker to gather on her limbs, and stronger,
Day after day?"

Shall we consent to act the part of two-legged bloodhounds, to hunt down the panting fugitives from a bloody despotism?

"By their enlarging souls, which burst
The bands and fetters round them set—
By the free Pilgrim spirit nursed
Within our inmost bosoms, yet—
By all above—around—below—
Be ours th' indignant answer—No!"

Then rally, one and all, to the meeting on Sunday evening, and let the Old Cradle of Liberty rock as it did in "the times that tried men's souls," and let the majestic voice of a free people be heard, "like the voice of many waters," in favor of impartial liberty and universal emancipation! Even now, kidnappers infest our community! Even now, one made in the divine image—created free by the power and grace of God—a man—a brother—lies incarcerated in Leverett street jail, charged with no crime, guiltless of all wrongdoing against society, without even the forms of law, or any legal authority whatever, at the bidding solely of the kidnapper—claimed as a slave—a thing—and in a few days to be hurried to the South, to be cut to pieces by the infernal lash of the slave-driver—unless he be rescued by the strong arm of liberty! No citizen is safe! The color of the skin has ceased to protect any of us from the doom of slavery! Are we not able to protect ourselves? Shall we not do it? Or shall we basely consent to give up our rights to any ruffians who may choose to take them from us? Let Faneuil Hall answer!

☞ The meeting will be addressed by several distinguished advocates of equal rights and impartial liberty.

This was posted through the city, and sent to all the neighboring towns. The following note also was sent to every church in the city, addressed to the respective clergymen:

George Latimer, a man created free by his Maker, and who believes himself free by the laws of Virginia, being now imprisoned in Boston jail, by James B. Gray, who claims him as a slave, requests an interest in your prayers, that he may be rescued from his unjust imprisonment, and preserved from the suffering that threatens him, if reduced to slavery.

his
GEORGE ✕ LATIMER.
mark.

Attest: S. E. SEWALL,
Leverett Street Jail, Oct.

At an early hour on Sunday evening, the meeting called together by the above placard, was 3000 strong.—While waiting for the filling up to be completed, some of the abolitionists, to the right and left of the platform, began singing some of the "picknick" songs. The names of Foster, Phillips, Remond, Douglas, Garrison, &c. were each woven into an extempore stave, and each received with applause, from the heavy-laden galleries, and the solid mass beneath, and round the centre of the hall. The name of Leavitt seemed to have been added to the rest as an afterthought. It fell cold and uncheered upon the listeners. The hall at length being crowded to suffocation, containing between four and five thousand persons, Francis Jackson called the meeting to order, and Samuel E. Sewall was nominated to preside.—Mr. Sewall then stated the case of George Latimer, (for whom he is counsel.) His speech was admirably concise and clear, listened to with respectful attention, and responded to with warmth by the great majority present. It would occupy one of your columns, and is well worth the space; but in justice to the proceedings following it, I must abridge it.

The color of Latimer, he said, was as light as that of the faces before him generally; the statement of Latimer, that his mistress emancipated him by will, but she dying, the will was destroyed by her daughter. He claimed, therefore, to be free by the laws of Virginia.—A few weeks after his arrival in Boston, he was seized as a runaway slave, by James B. Gray, of Norfolk, Virginia; charged with theft, as a pretense; taken without legal warrant, without evidence, or any process of law, and dragged to a cell under the court-house, where he lay some time. Some colored persons applied for a habeas corpus, by which he was brought before the judges of the Supreme Court. The jailer and sheriff there stated that they held him *under the authority of his master*. A charge of theft was next day brought against him, before the police court. There was no hearing; but, when he was about to be bound over to be produced in ten days, (the slaveholder trusting that in the meantime the United States court would sit, and the case be tried before Judge Story,) several gentlemen offered bail. The slaveholder instantly withdrew the charge of larceny! *Solely on the authority of the master*, he was then carried back to jail, the sheriff and jailor acting for this slaveholder, and on that responsibility *alone*, giving the use of our Boston jail to him. (Cries, "name! name!")

Since then, a writ of habeas corpus had been sued out, in order to try the case under the writ of personal replevin; and it was hoped that in twenty-four hours he would be at large. [Judge Shaw has, since the meeting, decided the writ *de homine replegiando*, obtained by the exertions of our friend Alvord, in view of this express matter, to be *inapplicable to the case of fugitive slaves!*] Mr. Sewall continued in explanation of the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg vs. the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, showing how that decision heightened and deepened the interest of this case, and the case of every colored man. (Cries—"*And white man, too!*") True, Mr. Sewall said; and what was now to be done? Not only free white and colored men, but *slaves*, must be protected; for no human law or constitution can be binding upon us to deliver the fugitive! There is a higher law within us, which binds us to assist the oppressed. I appeal to you if it be not so! (Strong cry—"*Yes! yes!*") Is there one of you, who, if a fugitive were demanded, would deliver him up? (*No! no! no!*) But the penalty! do you fear that? (*No! no!*) Mr. Sewall then pointed out the course to be pursued; viz: action upon our own legislature and upon Congress, on this specific point; which he believed would be followed by the total abolition of slavery much sooner than the community generally thought.

Up to this time, there was perfect order; though a practised eye could discern in the centre of the hall, under the lights, a restless little mass of combustible materials. I sat in the gallery opposite, where I had a complete view of everything that was done, and saw there some half-dozen of baize-shirted, tarpaulin-hatted individuals, whose faces were *not* those of sailors; some of whom seemed very desirous, through the whole, to *conceal* their faces.

Francis Jackson then moved the appointment of three secretaries, by the chair; and Mr. Sewall nominated Joshua Leavitt. A startling *No!* burst from the meeting; which gave occasion for the assertion of some of the penny papers, that the vote was overwhelming against completing the organization of the meeting. The fact is, no abolitionist *can* do otherwise than rebuke the iniquity, wherever he sees it, that has been so injurious to the cause. Mr. Jackson made a suggestion to Mr. Sewall; whereupon the latter read the names of the three secretaries together; and thus, sustained by H. J. Bowditch and Charles L. Remond, this unfortunate and careless momentary sanction of Mr. Leavitt was obtained. He read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That if all men are created free and equal, then none are born to be slaves; that if all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, then to reduce any man to servitude is a high-handed act of robbery and impiety; that if all men are made of one blood, and have one common Father, then they are not distinct races, but members of one common family.

That it is as great a crime to enslave one human being as it is another—the unoivilized African or the Russian serf, as the free-born citizen of Massachusetts; and that wherever it is perpetrated, or on whatever person, it should excite equal alarm, indignation, and horror.

That the sad and revolting spectacle which has recently been exhibited in this city, of a man forcibly seized and imprisoned, for no offense, except asserting his inherent, inalienable right to liberty, makes it our urgent duty, as men and Christians, to use every means sanctioned by law and morality, to prevent the repetition of such outrages, and to protect, as far as possible, the innocent victims of oppression.

That in the person of George Latimer, now confined in Leverett street jail on the charge of being a slave, are embodied the rights and immunities of all people; that he is the representative of every other human being on the face of the globe; and that the spirit which would reduce him to the condition of slavery, is one that would enslave all mankind, if it had the power.

That this meeting protests, by all the glorious memories of the revolutionary struggle—in the names of justice, liberty, and right—in the awful name of God—against the deliverance of George Latimer into the hands of his pursuers.

That Massachusetts is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent State; that she cannot allow her soil to be polluted by the footprint of slavery, without trampling on her bill of rights, and subjecting herself to infamy; that she is solemnly bound to give succor and protection to all who may escape from the prison-house of bondage, and flee to her for safety.

That if the soul-traders and slave drivers of the South imagine that Massachusetts is slave-hunting ground, on which they may run down their prey with impunity, and that the people of Massachusetts are disposed to act as two-legged bloodhounds in their behalf, they will find themselves mistaken.

That the opinion expressed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that a slaveholder has a legal right to seize his runaway slave in any of the free States, and drag them from thence by force, without bringing him before any court or magistrate, even if it be a sound exposition of the Constitution, is most alarming, since it encourages violent and lawless seizures, not merely of slaves, but of persons legally free, which necessarily lead to violent resistance, outrage, and bloodshed.

That this decision loudly calls on the legislatures of the free States, to make new laws for the protection of their citizens who are liable to be kidnapped and carried off as fugitive slaves.

That it is impossible to believe that the people of the United States, who established the Constitution expressly to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," intended to incorporate a provision striking at the foundation of personal security to every citizen; and we therefore demand a reconsideration of the decision of the Supreme Court, with the belief that it is against law, and ought to be reversed.

That as the United States have no power to compel State officers to execute the laws in regard to fugitive slaves, the general court of the Commonwealth be petitioned to make it a penal offense in any State magistrate to give a certificate to the owner of a fugitive slave, and, in any sheriff or jailor to confine in a public or private jail any person merely because he is claimed as a slave, and in any sheriff, constable, or other officer to assist in any manner whatever a person in seizing, securing, or keeping another as a fugitive slave.

That the law of Congress, regulating the seizure of fugitive slaves, ought to be repealed, and the claimants of such persons be left to their naked rights under the Constitution, unaided by the laws of the Union or the States, until the foul clause be blotted from that instrument.

Whereas, The Divine law enjoins it upon us, "not to deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto us, but that he shall dwell with us, even among us, in that place which he shall choose in one of our gates, where it liketh him best," (see Deut. xxiii. 15, 16,) and whereas, Blackstone, in his commentaries, has declared, that in all cases of conflict between divine and human enactments, "the inferior law must give place to the superior—man's law to God's law," or, as expressed by the lamented Dr. Channing, "no charter of man's writing can sanctify injustice, or repeal God's eternal law," therefore,

Resolved, That that clause of the United States Constitution which requires the surrender of a fugitive slave to his master, is not morally binding upon the American people, and should be disregarded by all who fear God and love righteousness.

Resolved, therefore, That the clause of the Constitution, requiring the surrender of fugitive slaves, ought to be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately, and that we pledge ourselves to use every exertion to procure its repeal.

That for a citizen of another government to come upon our territory and seize our citizens without form or process of law, is an act of war; so decided in the case of the Caroline; and there never can be a hearty union unless the State which is subject to such aggression consents to hold itself as a conquered province.

That to employ the jails of Massachusetts as barracoons for the safe keeping of persons seized as slaves, is such a violation of the principles of this commonwealth, that the legislature ought at once to repeal the act authorizing the federal government to use our prisons, and prohibit such use until the clause in the Constitution and the act of Congress under which it is done are abrogated.

That the legislature ought to pass a law declaring that if any citizen of Massachusetts shall voluntarily aid, counsel, or abet any person in seizing, imprisoning, or carrying away, with intent to hold as a slave, any person living in the peace of the commonwealth, he shall be incapacitated for holding any office of trust, honor or emolument, under the Constitution or laws of this State.

That the existence of slavery in the southern States is incompatible with the personal safety, rights and liberties of the free colored inhabitants of this commonwealth, and of other States—a national curse and reproach—at war with the whole creation of God, and, therefore, should be instantly sent to its own place—the bottomless pit.

Edmund Quincy was the first speaker in behalf of the resolutions. His introductory remarks were heard with some attention; but as he became warmed up to the subject, the audience in the body of the hall continually interrupted him, with loud outcries and cat-calls. He spoke very eloquently of the situation of the poor slave now confined in a dark dungeon, and groaning in his despair. He drew a vivid picture of his flight from slavery into the land of freedom, where the voice of liberty was first sounded. Here, said he, the poor fugitive was met by the myrmiddons of the law, who pursued him like bloodhounds; and the second judicial magistrate was the whipper-in of the crowd. The hisses of the audience now arose to an almost deafening sound; and such a cloud of dust was raised, as has seldom been seen in Faneuil Hall. "They do what the law obliges them to do!" said one. "Yes," said the speaker, "the Constitution obliges them to do this dirty work; but what power compels them to accept such offices?"

Mr. Leavitt followed. Though his voice is very loud, the uproar was so great, that I lost what he said. I could only gather that he was saying something about the decision of the United States Court on the Pennsylvania case. He read letters of refusal to participate in the meeting, from Baron Stowe, a Baptist clergyman; W. B. Calhoun, the congressional representative of a district of western Massachusetts; George Bancroft, the historian, and democratic politician; Samuel Hoar, a whig politician; and John Quincy Adams, "*the ex-President of the United States.*" (It is the way in which he will be known hereafter, unless the title of "defender of the right of petition" should be better deserved by him next session, than the last.) Mr. Adams declined acting as counsel for Latimer; but expressed his willingness to aid, with his advice, upon any points of law, providing they did not interfere with his bounden duty to the Constitution. These letters were received with shouts of laughter and derision from the centre of the hall—stamping, roars, &c.; with momentary lulls of curiosity, to hear the names of the writers. The noise was overwhelming, though made by so few persons; their courage was strengthened by seeing that the speaker had not the confidence of abolitionists and their friends. The numbers of these may be estimated, from the fact that the crowded galleries were for the most part filled with them, and one-fifth of the floor, from the pictured side to the centre. The rest of the audience was composed of "the middling interests" of the city; excepting only the sailor-looking men in the centre, who stamped and roared as if they were paid for it, with a dozen or two of boys, who gathered round them for the sport; and a number of the Cambridge law-students.

Round this group, were perhaps a hundred and fifty others, quiet themselves, but evidently on the side of slavery, letting themselves be jostled and crowded in waves from the centre to the circumference, by attempts of the ill-favored few to make a ring, in which the boys were to turn summersets, and jump Jim Crow. The crowd was so great, however, that the attempt was fruitless. For an instant only at a time, the floor could be seen white from the galleries; one gambol performed, and then the hats touched each other again. But the platform had lost the control of these disturbers of the meeting, and all the eloquence of Wendell Phillips and Douglas could not regain it; though much that they said thundered over the tumult. Still, the deceived rioters thought that the solid crowd around them was favorable to the slaveholder, from the circumstance of the quiet stand it kept while Leavitt was speaking, and the way in which his appointment had been resisted. Their uproar was so deafening, that when the abolitionists applauded those whom they considered their representatives, not a sound of the clapping of their hands could be heard in the steady roar and stamp. You could tell where the body of abolitionists were, by the white glimmer of their hands in the dense dark throng. Frederic Douglas tried to tell them that *he* was a slave, and what were his fears for *himself* and hundreds of his brethren, if the decision of the Supreme Court was not reviewed and altered. He was powerless before the unfeeling hirelings. There was a provoking good-nature on the part of the rioters. Pay and fun were evidently all they were there for. The sub-sheriff, in tones of authority, ordered the crowd to disperse. He told them their conduct had been observed, and their names taken; and he hoped gentlemen (if any such there were among them) would go away. About one-third slunk from the hall, like shamed spaniels. All this while, no master-spirit had appeared, to sway these infatuated people. I had watched for such an one to be raised up, to show the power of goodness and persuasion; nor did I wait in vain. S. S. Foster, of New Hampshire, with the law of kindness on his tongue, arrested those who were retreating, silenced the foolish, and put to shame the wicked. With perfect gentleness, he was as bold as a lion. He told them he forgave their conduct, of which he was sensible they would themselves be ashamed, when they came to their right mind; he did not wish to hand in their names, or to bring them before courts of law for this outrage. If they wished to mob him, he should offer no resistance; if they wished for his life, they might take it; but so long as he lived, he *would* plead for the oppressed and the down-trodden.

Poor George Latimer! May God help him; for I fear man cannot. His cruel master (perhaps his father) went to his cell, and told him that when he got him home, he would not kill him outright, but he should be made to die by inches.

Yet the just, the merciful, the noble-hearted, who met together to talk of his wrongs, and inquire by what mode they could be redressed, were silenced—scoffed at and insulted, by thousands, who, in this city of churches and Sunday schools, are no better than savages and heathen.

At nine o'clock, the noise having somewhat abated, the question on the resolutions was put by the chairman, and carried by a tremendous shout of AYE, that made the old hall tremble. The other side being called for, a hundred voices or so were heard to say No, as if they were ashamed. So the resolutions were carried by a majority of at least twenty to one. It was also ordered that the proceedings, signed by the officers of the meeting, be published in all the city papers.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF RHODE ISLAND.

The annual meeting of the Rhode-Island State Anti-Slavery Society takes place on the 16th of November ensuing. That time will soon arrive, and you are earnestly requested to take prompt measures to secure a full attendance of abolitionists from all parts of the State. The great excitement consequent upon the agitation of the suffrage question, during the past year, has almost entirely precluded the discussion of anti-slavery; the committee deeming it as unwise as it would be useless, to send agents into the field at a time when the public mind was in a state of frenzy, and the State itself apparently upon the eve of a civil war.

This excitement has now partially subsided; and it is hoped that all sincere abolitionists will lay aside their party feelings, allow reason to resume her throne, and with one heart and mind labor earnestly in behalf of the oppressed. Your committee deem it important to say a few words in relation to the position and objects of the anti-slavery society, which seem at the present time to be strangely misunderstood and misrepresented; not only by our opponents, but by some who have long professed to be abolitionists. On the one hand, we are charged with being "Dorrites," and on the other, with being "Algerines." It seems almost needless for us to say that these charges are equally untrue.

The object of the anti-slavery movement (as all who choose to inform themselves, know,) is the abolition of slavery, and the improvement of the free people of color. It rises entirely above this or that *party*. We are not a "suffrage party," nor are we a "charter party;" but we are opposed or friendly to both, according as they oppose or are friendly to the great principles of liberty, for which we have been contending. And the action of this committee, during the past year, has been in accordance with the principles here laid down. Both the constitutions presented for adoption, were obnoxious to our principles, because they excluded a portion of the citizens of our own State from an equal participation in their privileges. We were bound to oppose both, or forfeit our character for consistency, by consenting to injustice and persecution. It is hoped that abolitionists will always occupy this commanding position. Our work is far higher and nobler than that of any party in Church or State. We are laboring for the emancipation of millions. Let nothing divert us from this object; but fearlessly and unitedly let us aim at its accomplishment.

Again we call your attention to the importance of a strong rally at our annual meeting. Shall we cease our efforts; or with renewed strength and zeal, go on? On you rests the decision. To go forward, means are wanted. Many of the pledges made at the last annual meeting are yet unpaid, which it is hoped will be soon redeemed. Let the abolitionists in every village meet together, appoint their delegates to the annual meeting, and decide how much money they can raise to sustain the operations of the society during the current year.—Do not wait for each other; but let every one act, and act immediately. We expect the assistance of able friends from abroad. Among others, we may mention Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, of Boston; Charles L. Remond, of Salem; N. P. Rogers, and Parker Pillsbury, of Concord, N. H.; and James Boyle, of Ohio.

The committee are also desirous of calling your attention to the Ladies' Fair, to be held at Franklin Hall, during the time of the annual meeting. A large sum of money can easily be raised at this fair, and with but little expense. Let every anti-slavery woman in the State do *something* for the fair. A number of articles are already prepared; but there is yet time to prepare a still greater variety. Let every village, then, form a sewing circle, and prepare a table for the fair. Donations for the provision table are also solicited; and these, together with other articles for the fair, may be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, 14 1-2 Westminster-st. care of Lucinda Wilmarth.

The executive committee have recently engaged two agents, who will lecture in such portions of the State as they may be able to visit previous to the annual meeting. It is hoped that abolitionists in the region of their labors will afford them every facility possible. Much may be done for them, by taking some pains to give notice of their meetings; and there are various ways in which much effectual assistance may be rendered, if there is a willing mind and an open hand.

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society.

GEORGE L. CLARKE, *Cor. Sec*
Providence, R. I. Oct. 31, 1842.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOV. 10, 1842.

QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

Our respected fellow-laborer, J. N. T. Tucker, begins a letter thus: "The charges have been rung in my ears so frequently of late, that the editors of the Standard were favorable to the whig party, and that opposition to the 'liberty party' was on that account; and that the American Society was in favor of retaining a connection with the whig and democratic parties, and of supporting them *as parties*; and that you were in favor of abiding in pro-slavery sects, &c. that I have resolved to ask you to answer definitely the following questions:

1. Are you favorable to the whigs, as a party?
2. Would you support them by political balloting, or voting?
3. Is the American Society in favor of abolitionists acting politically, with the whig and democratic parties?
4. Does the society, and do you, as editors, encourage abolitionists in remaining in pro-slavery sects?"

Answer to the first question: David Lee Child has always been attached to the principles of the whig party; that is, he takes their views of the tariff, national bank, &c. But their pro-slavery course has so disgusted him, that for several years he has had no connection whatsoever with them as a party; but has perseveringly continued to throw scattering votes, not unfrequently for men whose opinions coincided with the democratic party. If I understand his views rightly, (he is not here to answer for himself,) he would not vote for a slaveholder, or a pro-slavery man, to advance the ends of *any* party; neither would he pledge himself to vote for a man, under any and all circumstances, merely because he was an abolitionist. For myself, it is of small consequence what I think; for the law would not allow me to vote or ballot, if I wished it. Both parties are so completely odious to me, that it is disagreeable to be obliged to allude to them at all.

Second question: The answer is contained in the reply to the first.

Third question: The American Society does *not*, and never *did*, approve of abolitionists acting politically with either of the parties, as parties. For myself, I could almost as soon conceive of an abolitionist's vesting money in slaves, as I could of his acting politically with either whigs or democrats, as a party; and I believe this expresses the views of the American Society.

Opposition to the formation of a distinct political abolition party, is by no means peculiar to those who sympathize with whig principles; so far as I am acquainted, it embraces quite as many of opposite sympathies.—It is no *new* ground; it was taken by the society at the very outset. The American Society stands on precisely the same platform it did in the beginning. Others have changed, and then imagine the society has moved from its position. Under the alcoholic stimulus of electioneering zeal, they imagine movements and motives which never had existence. The American Society is just exactly what it was when those very men supported it; and they know very well that *they* did not sustain pro-slavery. They have lost their perception of principles which once seemed clear enough to their own minds, and it now appears to them as if the principles were changed; like the intoxicated man who complained that his bed flew round so fast that he couldn't catch it. The bed stood in its old position, but the man's head was giddy.

In the Anti-Slavery Magazine, published by the American Society, in 1837, we find the following:

The ballot-box is not an abolition argument. Abolitionism knows nothing of parties. It attacks all men as men, *without inquiring for whom they vote*. It opens its batteries upon the mind and consciences of our common nature, and will play away, till the man who goes into office, *of whatever party*, will on this subject have as little desire, as he has courage, to do otherwise than right. Abolitionists have but one work—it is *not to put anybody into office, or out of it, but to set right those who make officers*. It is not an action upon State or Church, but upon the materials of both. Success will certainly develop itself, through those who make human laws, and those who interpret the divine. But it would seem *the natural order*, that it should show itself first through the latter. *The interpreters of divine law are, in fact,* THE CHIEF SINNERS. They have given license *ad libitum* to manstealing; and it cannot be expected that the statutes of a State should be better than its religion!

In 1838, a circular was addressed to the abolitionists of the United States, on the subject of political action, in behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and signed by James G. Birney, Elizur Wright, jr. and Henry B. Stanton, in which the following language was held:

All the resolutions above referred to, *deprecate the formation of a distinct anti-slavery political party.*—We hope our friends in your region *will discountenance any such attempt*, or any effort to unite our interests with any existing party. Such a course would surely neutralize our influence, if it did not produce distraction and ruin. Our strength, yea, our invincibility will be found to consist in first sacrificing our partisan predilections on the altar of humanity, and then holding ourselves aloof from both the political paties. Our motto should be, 'Form alliances with no political party, but *esatamp our principles* upon all.' Thus acting and thus rallying, as one man, to their support, we must be felt. . . . It is possible that, in some cases, neither party will put in nomination men for whom you can consistently vote; for no profession of our principles ought to be regarded, when it is unattended with a good moral deportment. In that case, ☞ abolitionists should either not vote at all, or scatter their votes, as circumstances may render advisable. When a majority of all the votes is required to an election, the latter course may be found wise. In the language of one of the most distinguished statesmen of the country "Such a party will assuredly cause itself to be respected."

Men have an undoubted right to change their opinions, and may do so most honestly. We make these quotations from old publications merely to show that the American Society has taken no *new* ground on the subject of political party.

The answer to the fourth question is found in the following resolutions passed at the last annual meeting of the American Society:

Whereas the action of political and religious bodies in this country has, to all intents and purposes, proved them to be the great bulwark and pillars of slavery; and whereas the connection of professed abolitionists with those associations constitutes the most perplexing obstacles that the anti-slavery enterprise has encountered, and furnishes its enemies with an unanswerable argument against the sincerity of its professions; therefore,

Resolved, That no person is to be regarded as a consistent abolitionist, who voluntarily continues connected with, or gives support to any organization, civil or ecclesiastical, which gives countenance to slavery, or refuses to act against it.

I do not recollect anything in the Standard likely to give rise to the fourth question, except some remarks on the Church Union proposed by Mr. Goodell. I have always believed that the "liberty party" would, in the nature of things, fall asunder if it ever attained strength enough to influence the government; because men *will* have strong and opposite predilections on other subjects than slavery. In the church, the same thing is true. A distinct church, on purely abolition ground, I do not believe can long exist. The difficulty is shown in the outset, by Mr. Goodell's confining his plan to "evangelical sects." Others cannot be included, because they differ too much on other subjects than slavery. In a brief editorial I stated this obstacle in the way of a distinct abolition church. The true philosophy seems to me most obviously to be, to stand aloof from existing sects and parties, without attempting to form a distinct organization; not to act *with* either sects or parties, but to act *on* them, by reiterated rebuke, and consistent example.

Finally, let not our friends or agents be surprised or disturbed by any accusations that have been brought, or may be brought. The object is, and long has been, to destroy the American Society, by hook or by crook. Not long ago, the charge was that it was a non-resistant society, and abjured politics altogether; now it is charged with aiding and abetting pro-slavery political parties. Neither of the accusations have a shadow of foundation.

It is the maxim of political parties to charge opponents with anything and everything, likely to excite prejudice; and the most fitting opportunity is the eve of an election, when there is not time to disabuse honest but mistaken minds. There is a strong family resemblance between political partisans, whatever may be their professed principles.—L. M. C.

NEW-YORK STATE CONVENTIONS.

We would call particular attention to the conventions to be held by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in Middle and Western New-York. The first at Rochester, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of November. The second at Syracuse, on the 22d, 23d, and 24th. The third at Utica, on the 30th of November, and the 1st and 2d of December.

Abby Kelley, Charles Lenox Remond, and Frederic Douglas, will attend, unless prevented by some unforeseen accident. Wm. L. Garrison announces in the last Liberator that he will be present. ☞ *We trust he will let nothing but sheer impossibility prevent the fulfillment of this promise.* These conventions are of the highest importance. Fields of rich soil are lying ready for the sower's hand. Let them be planted with grain, before the wind covers them with thistles and bind-weed.

WE RELY UPON OUR FRIENDS TO MAKE A STRONG, ENERGETIC EFFORT! Let none, who wishes well to the cause, neglect to be at the gathering.

We regret to state that John A. Collins will be absent. This disinterested and indefatigable laborer has overworked himself in the cause of the slave, and now lies very ill at Lloydsville, Ohio. He is in the hands of kind friends, who will do for him all that can be done. Let him not be anxious. It is true, the cause can ill spare him at this juncture; but other laborers will work with increased energy. Abby Kelley is a host within herself; and though apparently doing as much hard labor as a mortal can, she will doubtless find means to do still more; for *heart*-energy always rises in proportion to the demands upon it. From all quarters we hear joyful tidings of the great good she is doing. We trust all our friends in that region will rally strongly around her, and bear the banner high. She deserves it, and the cause requires it, at their hands.

J. Q. ADAMS.

Editorial is crowded out this week, to make room for copious extracts from J. Q. Adams. This speech contains a very great amount of important information concerning the controlling policy of this government. *It ought to be carefully read by every abolitionist.* Even those who dislike his views of the present and past administrations, will find it valuable as a mine of historical truth. It is high time the people should know that government has long been leading them blindfold into a pit.

CHARLES DICKENS.—His new work on America was published in London in 2 vols. 8vo. on the 14th of Oct. arrived by the Great Western, at 6 o'clock last Sunday evening, was republished in N. York that night, and by 1 o'clock the next day the whole city was flooded with them at 12 1-2 cents a piece. Before the next morning, they were sent to every part of the United States by mail. May the land be deluged with them! They contain the most scorching anti-slavery we have seen yet.

☞ Abby Kelly's post-office address, until the 14th of November, is Waterloo, Seneca co. N. Y.

Anti-Slavery Items.

THE BOSTON SLAVE CASE.—For an account of this exciting case, see the communication headed "Mob in Boston." The Liberator says:

"When Latimer was removed from the police court to the jail, it is said there were so great apprehensions of a rescue, that two constables suffered themselves to be handcuffed to him for security. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts held its sitting on the last *habeas corpus* in the precinct of the jail, through fear. The vast body of people who crowded Faneuil Hall were in our favor, but a few white slaves and hired bullies were allowed to disturb us without restraint. It is currently reported that Gray has told Latimer, that if he gets him into his power, he will not kill him outright, but will *kill him by inches!* It is also said that he has threatened to chain an iron ball to each foot, and drive him about the country until his life is worn out. Latimer's wife, of course, is in great distress, and under her circumstances, fatal results are apprehended! When Latimer was brought before Judge Story as a fugitive slave, and Gray had no proof on his claim, the learned judge very kindly told him that it was usual, in such cases, to give time, and he therefore directed Latimer to be remanded, under that prodigious warrant, for two weeks. The final hearing comes on Saturday, November 5. The city of Boston is waiting in breathless anxiety for the issue." The Boston papers in general show a disposition to sustain freedom of speech, and discountenance mobs under all circumstances.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran-away from the subscriber, residing in Georgetown, D. C. on the night of the 24th October, negro man John, who calls himself *John More*, about twenty-eight years of age, six feet high, very dark visaged, stammers somewhat occasionally, *reads and writes well, and is a good mathematician*; is a sagacious, shrewd fellow; a *professor of religion, and an occasional exhorter*. His clothes cannot be described, as *he furnished himself amply*.

I will give the above reward if taken in any free State, one hundred dollars if taken in Maryland, or fifty dollars if taken in the District, and secured so that I get him again. PEREGRINE WARFIELD.
—*National Intelligencer.*

The above is one of the southern "*chattels;*" one of those whom we are gravely told "cannot take care of themselves." From the description given of him, I should suppose he was better qualified for the presidency than many a candidate who has been nominated. That he does not owe his intelligence to "white blood" in his veins, is indicated by the fact that he is "very dark visaged;" and as he already knows how to "furnish himself amply," no fears need be entertained that he will not "take care of himself."

Mr. Warfield had better give $150 *not* to have him brought back; for such a fellow cannot be otherwise than dangerous to the "peculiar institution." Why, he can forge free papers, calculate profit and loss, and all sorts of dangerous things. If John More is caught and sold again, we advise him to cry out, as Diogenes of old did on the auction stand, "Who wants to buy a *master?*"

PRO-SLAVERY NOMINATIONS.—Agreeably to a call issued by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a convention was holden in Cazanovia, on the 18th and 19th of October. The following resolutions were passed.

Resolved, That inasmuch as slavery is supported and sanctioned by the constitution and laws of our country, every man who bestows his suffrages upon a candidate for any legislative, executive, or judicial office, in the gift of the people, who is not an out-standing and out-acting abolitionist, is false to freedom, and recreant to humanity.

Resolved, That the nomination by the whig party of *Henry Clay* to the office of President of the United States, is a foul blot on the character of our country, which ought to call down upon that party the burning indignation of every true friend of human liberty.

Resolved, That we regard all who sustain or countenance that *nomination*, as accomplices and participants in the most atrocious crimes; and that we will forego no opportunity to express our deep indignation and abhorrence of their diabolical conduct.

These resolutions were ably discussed. Many were convinced of the truthfulness of them, and resolved never again to vote for a slaveholder or his apologist.

Married,

On the 24th of October, at Kimberton, Chester county, Pa. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, of Montpelier, Vt. to GERTRUDE, daughter of Emmor Kimber, of the former place.

By accident, this paragraph was omitted in last week's paper. The cordial wishes of many hearts will go with them, for years of happy usefulness and domestic love.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

The Treaty.—The most important item of news, is the ratification of the boundary treaty by the British government, on the 14th ult. So that matter is finally disposed of,—the treaty having been ratified by both the contracting powers. It is proper to say that the London papers do not mention the ratification; but a letter received at Boston from an undoubted source, asserts the fact positively. The letter is said to be from our minister, Mr. Everett, to the Hon. Daniel Webster.

Fruits of the Treaty.—The Bangor Whig states that a number of the citizens of Maine are making preparations to engage in the lumber business on the Aroostook and St. Johns rivers, this winter. This movement is attributable to the free navigation of the St. Johns river, secured by the recent treaty between Great Britain and this country.

The Slave Trade—The Right of Search.—The following paragraph is translated from the Augsburg Gazette—the most authentic source, generally speaking, of political intelligence, concerning all the states of the European continent:

"Touching the right of visit, opinions in France are more and more in accordance with that of the United States. Gen. Cass and Mr. Everett have had a conference with count St. Aulaire, under the sanction of M. Guizot, and the outlines of a new treaty for the suppression of the slave trade have by this time, probably, been communicated to the British government as a substitute for the conventions of 1831 and 1833, and the unratified treaty of 1841."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Marriage of Count D'Hauteville.—This foreign nobleman, whose marriage with the daughter of David Sears, Esq. of Boston, and whose subsequent endeavors to gain possession of his child after he had been deprived of its society, created so much noise throughout the country, has, we understand, been recently married to a lady in Europe, possessed of immense wealth, and moving in the first circles abroad.—*Phil. Eve. Jour.*

M.

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

TO THE MEMORY OF CHANNING.

BY L. SWAIN, JR.

Peace to the good man's memory! let it grow
Greener with years, and blossom through the flight
Of ages; let the mimic canvas show
His calm benevolent features; let the light
Stream on his deeds of love like a rainbow.

They say thy Life's bright sands had run,
And thy free spirit left its clay,
Just as the weary sun went down,
And closed the Autumn day.

Ah, that was sweet 8—I know 'twas bliss
For thy last gaze to turn upon
Earth's dear, familiar loveliness,
With sunset's glory on.

The hues of beauty which thy worth
Cast o'er the moral world within,
Were fairer than the outward Earth
Were so serenely then.

Those who have *felt* Oppression's ban,
Those who have sighed its miseries o'er,
All who have toiled for suffering man,
Weep that thou art no more.

All who have turned thy written page,
Where poetry and wisdom blend,
To counsel youth and strengthen age,
Feel they have lost a friend.

Oh! thou hast left no one behind,
Wearing the mantle of thy zeal,
In works of heart, and words of mind,
For human nature's weal.

But while we stumbling miss thy light,
'Tis well with thee; for thou art gone
To kneel before that Living Might,
From whom thy power was drawn.

Through flowers of purer air to rove,
In vales for angel wanderings given—
To find in higher truth and love,
The promised bliss of heaven.

Rahway, 7th mo. 1st, 1842.

THE FIRST DEATH OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

BY AMELIA.

Oh, many a mournful year hath flown
Since first amid our family band
Death came and stole our loveliest one,
And bore her to the spirit land.

Yet shrined with many a sweet sad thought
That loved one's memory lingers still;
For oh! she left a void, that nought
But mournful thoughts could fill.

Years have passed by, I said, and yet
It only seems the other day,
Since round her dying bed we met,
With breaking hearts to weep and pray.

Her gentle soul, we strove to think,
Would linger yet 'mid earthly flowers,
Even when 'twas trembling on the brink
Of lovelier worlds than ours.

Yes! there, e'en when all hope had flown,
We wept away each lingering hour,
Until the shades of death came down,
And closed the shutting flower.

And yet it seemed like sin to grieve
For one so patient and resigned:
For if she mourned 'twas but to leave
Such breaking hearts behind.

She died. Yet death could scarcely chill
Her smiling beauties, tho' she lay,
With cold extended limbs, for still
Her face looked fairer than the day.

Those eyes, once eloquent with bliss,
Were closed as soft as shutting flowers.
Oh! few could bear a thought like this—
Yet such a sight was ours.

How slowly wore that long, long day;
Like spirits in some haunted place,
We'd sit and sigh, then steal away
To look once more on that pale face.

We could not think her soul had passed
The awful bonds of mortal strife;
That that warm heart was cold at last,
That loved us more than life.

And when the funeral rite was said,
They bore her from her happy home,
And left her with the silent dead,
A pale-faced tenant of the tomb.

They reared no marble 'mid the flowers
Above her grave to mark the spot,
Yet many a heart as fond as ours,
Still holds her unforgot.

Months passed, yet still our sorrow gushed,
The free glad laugh no more was heard,
And many a little voice was hushed
That used to warble like a bird.

And tho' at times we strove to smile
Seemly for each other's sake,
We wept in secret all the while
As if our hearts would break.

Yet why should death be linked with fear?
A single breath, a low-drawn sigh,
Can break the ties that bind us here,
And waft the spirit to the sky

Such was her end. A calm release,
No clinging to this mortal clod,
She closed her eyes, and stood in peace
Before a smiling God.

LET ME GO HOME.

"Let me go home!"—'tis a plaintive cry
On the wayward path of infancy;
The truant is wearied and bramble-torn,
And it longs in a mother's arms to mourn,
And to feel its troubles hushed to sleep,
Where a mother's love its watch shall keep.
"Rest, child, rest! and never more
Wander away from thy father's door."

"Let me go home!"—'tis the lost one's cry;
Let me go home—go home to die!
The traitor who robb'd her of maiden fame,
Has cast her forth to a life of shame;
And the gnawing tooth of gaunt despair
Preys on a cheek no longer fair.
Let the erring daughter in;
Open gates to the Magdalen.

"Let me go home!"—'tis the exile's prayer—
O what to him all the balmy air
Of the genial South, when far away
His fond wife weeps and his children play;
Where the snows of the North are on the track
O'er which the look'd-for comes not back!
He comes! and brightly the hearth shall burn
To light the joy of that blest return.

"Let me go home!"—from the wanderer's breast
Burst the heaving sigh of the soul's unrest.
Long hath he roamed through countries strange,
Breaking ties in the love of change;
One, long forgot, hath his pride unmanned—
He would make his grave in his native land.
Through a rain'd hall the night winds sweep,
As we lay him down where his fathers sleep.

"Let me go home!"—"Poor outcast, say,
Hast thou a home?" "Yes, a house of clay—
Wherever my faltering feet shall fall,
There my life shall end its mortal toils;
And this all else is a home, and I have no other,
Nor only the heaven still overarching
Let me go home—and Him who gave
Yet another home—beyond the grave!"

Miscellany.

From the Washingtonian.

THE POT OF BOILED MILK.

Some time ago, after a juvenile temperance procession had been dismissed, I called a chubby-cheeked, flaxen-haired little boy to me. Why do you walk with the other boys, and wear that badge, my little fellow? said I. Why, because I am a temperance boy, said he, quickly; and his bright eyes glistened with joy, as he recounted to me, in his artless manner, the pleasure he had felt on that day. But, said I, you have not yet told me what temperance means. Why, replied he, it means that we must not drink whisky. Before he could reply to my questions, a fine-looking lad, about 14 years of age, called to him: "Come, Charley, let us go home now, you know mother is waiting for us." "Yes, Jimmy, directly; when I speak with this gentleman awhile, I'll go." James drew near, and after learning the point at issue, said his brother Charley was too young to tell the reason why he ought to love the temperance society, but, said he, if you will just come with me to that bench under that big oak, I will tell you why we do love it.

Agreed, my fine little fellow, said I. Having seated ourselves in the cool shade, I took Charley on my knee, and James related as follows:

Many persons have asked me what such little boys as we are, could possibly know about temperance. I have not always had time, as I now have, to tell the reason, and mother will forgive us for delaying, as this is a holyday. When I was a smaller boy than I now am, my father would frequently come home very drunk, and whenever he did come home in that state, we were always sure to get a kick or a cuff from him. So we began to fear his coming so much that we would hide ourselves behind mother's chair whenever he came in. One day father came home so drunk that he could scarcely stand without some support. He stood in the doorway for some time gazing at us as we sat around the little fire, eagerly waiting until the milk should be ready for us. As soon as we saw father, we knew that we should have no milk; for he had not eaten anything that day, and we knew that he would have something to eat, if it was in the house. He looked at us for some time, as if to find out something to swear at. "Sarah, why hav'nt you got supper ready, you lazy wench, you. Come, stir out of that chair, or I'll teach you better, you good-for-nothing hussey you?" Mother, trembling, rose from the chair, while the big tears rolled down her pale cheeks. We began to cry too; this only made matters worse. Why don't you move faster, you lazy wench; you're too lazy to move, said he. My poor mother's tears flowed afresh at this brutal remark. She looked at my father imploringly for a moment, when she said, "John, you know we have nothing to eat but a little boiled milk, which Mr. B. was good enough to send for the children." "Milk! milk! hey? why that's what I've been thinking about! Come, stir about, let's have the milk," said he. He staggered to a seat at the table, the chair on which he attempted to sit was an old and broken one, and he fell with it, and lay for some time perfectly helpless. After three or four vain attempts to rise, he called to my mother. "Here, Sally, why don't you help me, you see I'm sick and weak; come, help." My mother obeyed, and placed him in a stronger chair. "Now, Sal, said he, let's have the soup." My poor mother looked first at father and then at us, as we sat cowering in the chimney-corner, the big tears rolling down her cheeks. "Why, John," said she, "there's not enough for the children, they eat nothing to-day yet."

"Children, hey! children! what business have they to eat, bring it along, or I'll break every bone in your body;" and seizing a part of the broken chair he threw it at mother. Fortunately, it missed her, but, glancing from the wall, it struck little Charley on the arm with such force as to bruise it very much. The poor little fellow screamed with pain. "Oh, mother," said he, "papa hurt me so much." "Hush your squalling there, you noisy brat," said he, (hiccoughing) "or I'll teach you manners!" Poor Charley was quiet in an instant.

"Is that boiled milk coming?" said father.

Poor mother, trembling and weeping, set our little pot before him. As she turned away from the table she look at us again, saying, "poor children, they will starve, and I know not where to get a mouthful of food for them," and she wept bitterly.

"Starve, hey!" cried my father, "well, let them starve—they're only trouble any how!" "God forgive you, John, for your unkindness," was all that my mother said.

Hearing my mother's last words, he looked at her for an instant so fiercely, that I thought I should have sunk through the floor. He rose from his seat, and made a step towards her. "God forgive who? me? There, take that"—and he struck her a violent blow on the side of her head. She uttered a faint scream, and fell to the floor, bleeding and senseless. Seeing what he had done, and fearing he had killed her, father instantly left the house. Charley and I now screamed as loud as we could. We knelt down by my mother's side and called to her, mother, mother, but she heeded us not. "Mother," said Charley, "get up; I won't cry any more about my arm, indeed, I won't, mamma. We won't cry for the milk either, will we, Jemmy? Come, mother;" but my poor mother heard us not. Our kind neighbor, Miss Sarah Anne Stuart, passing by at the time, heard our cries, and stept in to see the cause. "My God," said she, "James, what's the matter with your mother?" I told her as well as I could the whole affair. "Run," said she, "for Dr. Richardson. Tell him to come directly." The doctor came immediately, and soon restored mother to consciousness. You would have wept had you seen little Charley, when she opened her eyes. He kissed her again and again, and said he would'nt cry about his arm, and father shan't hit you any more, &c.

Miss Stuart wept, and the good doctor applied his handkerchief to his eyes more than once. Hearing little Charley speak of his arm, he next applied a bandage to it; glad he did not receive the blow in the head, as it would have killed him. "Oh! mother, I'm so hungry," whispered Charley. Miss Stuart overheard it, and took leave for a few moments, returning with a basket full of provisions. "God bless you, for your kindness, Miss Stuart," sobbed my mother, while tears flowed freely down her cheeks. The doctor soon entered with another basket, well packed by Mrs. Richardson.

Miss Stuart and the doctor, took their leave, promising to call in the morning. Charley and I sat on the bed with mother. We talked for a long time, till Charley fell asleep; but mother woke him again, and we both said the Lord's prayer, after which Charley clasping his little hands, repeated the prayer his mother had taught him, in a distinct voice:—

Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord my soul to keep;
If I should die before I wake,
I pray the Lord my soul to take—Amen!

The tears came to my mother's eyes as she gazed on her little boy. "Mother," said Charley, "did you not say we should pray for those who do not love us?" "Yes, my child, I did." "Well, then, mother, we must pray for papa, for he does not love us, or else he would not have hit you and me. Mother, you pray for him." The request of Charley was granted; she raised her eyes to heaven, and in a feeble though fervent voice, she poured forth her soul in prayer.

"Father of mercies, bless my poor boys, cherish and protect them; take them, Holy Father, into thy keeping—'tis from thee alone our help must come. And oh, God bless my once kind husband. Turn him from the error of his ways, and teach him once more to walk in the path of duty. Father of mercies! hear a mother's prayer, restore him to me as he once was, pure, kind, and gentle. O grant, Lord, that we may know him again as a father and husband, for the Saviour's sake, Amen."

"Amen!" responded a hoarse voice.

My mother started, for my father stood before us. Charley hid his head in the bedclothes, and I, trembling with fear, strove to get as far away from him as possible.

My father spoke first. "Sarah, said he, in a gentle tone, "were you praying for me?" No answer. "I overheard it all, Sarah; you were praying for a wretch who, a few hours ago, would have murdered you in cold blood. Can you forgive me, Sarah; oh, speak, can you forgive such a wretch as I have been? O God, what a dreadful curse have I escaped. Say you forgive me, and man's enemy shall never enter my mouth."

"Forgive you! O, yes! may God forgive you as freely as I do!" He clasped her to his bosom. Tears of joy now flowed, where before all had been bitterness. The morning came, my mother seemed quite well. We breakfasted from Miss Stuart's and the doctor's provisions, both of whom called to see us. The joyful news was soon communicated to them. "Come, John," said the doctor to my father, "you must confirm your good resolution by signing the Temperance Pledge, and then I have plenty of work for you." He signed the pledge, and went to work immediately. When he came to dinner, he called Charley and myself to him. He was about to set Charley on his knee, when the little fellow cried out, "take care of my arm, papa, it is sore." "Why, what is the matter, Charley?" "Why, papa, don't you know yesterday when you was a bad man, you hit me with a stick, but you're a good papa now and won't hit me again, will you, papa?" The tear stood in his eye as he looked at Charley. "No, my son, never; may God forgive my cruelty."

"Now, sir," said James, "I've told you nearly all. My father is a good man; we have plenty to eat and wear, and go to school." Charley jumped off my knee, taking James by the hand, took off his cap with the other, and gave a hurrah for the Washingtonians.

HIBERNICUS—ANCHOR.

EXTRACTS FROM A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF DR. CHANNING.

BY THEODORE PARKER.

In the early part of his ministry, without neglecting more practical subjects, Dr. Channing spoke often, and eloquently, of the principles of religion and virtue; the greatness of man; the goodness of God; the eternity of truth; the beauty of self-denial; the necessity of conforming to the law of God. When men heard this, many were moved by his eloquent truth; but some said, "This is very beautiful; it may be very true, but it is very high; too high for this world, we are certain; too low for the next, we are afraid. He talks to angels, and not men. He talks of truth and justice, as if they were not abstractions. We cannot understand him." In later years, he applied these doctrines to life. The greatness of human nature was his favorite theme. But he saw man degraded; insensible alike of his duties and his rights. He preached the duties and the truths belonging to this subject.

He saw the vice of INTEMPERANCE belittling the faculties, and impoverishing the resources of man. He lifted his voice against the sin; and of all that has been written on this fertile theme, perhaps nothing is more just and wise, than his temperance address. It has counsel not to be neglected at the present day.

He turned, also, to the great subject of EDUCATION. He saw its value, and felt the necessity of a work very different from what is commonly conceived of. Had man great powers of mind, affection, soul? They must be developed by careful cultivation. He demanded an education, for all men, far in advance of what many deem sufficient, or even possible. He thought that the resources and talent of the country could not be better employed, than in building up a nobler population, better men and women, able to understand the world, and fit to live in it. It was no one-sided culture, but the perfection of all the faculties, that he demanded.

He turned his attention to one other theme; the subject of SLAVERY, "which makes us the byword and scorn of the nations." I know it is a tender subject; one which many think must not be touched upon with us, "who have no concern"—so it is said—"in the matter." Against this national crime, this hideous sin of a free people, whose motto is, "All are born free;" a Christian people, whose religion says, "Love your brother;" against this sin he uplifted his voice, with more than even his usual eloquence and persuasive power, but not without his customary charity and moderation. No subject, of late years, engrossed so much of his attention as this. None of his writings, I may safely say, does so much honor to his head and heart, as on this theme. I know there are men, good and wise men, who scruple not to condemn his course; others, who think slavery is a "very clever thing to all parties," for the slave is fed and clothed; lives, not among savage blacks, but Christian whites, and the master can get more sugar or cotton, with slaves, than without them! I know there are "good and wise men" who would not have any one cry out for the wrongs of two or three millions of souls, held in the foulest bondage, because, to their owners, these souls are worth some twelve hundred millions of dollars, and the dollars must be kept, though the souls be lost. I know there are men, "Christian men," as the world uses that term, who think the righting of wrongs belongs to anybody but themselves. Dr. Channing was not of this number. His mind was early turned to this sin, and his zeal against it never abated. On this ground, also, he had his predecessors; men whose self-denying zeal is so well known, that their names need not be spoken here. In the warfare against slavery, he encountered the abuse, (that is the true word for the treatment he met,) the abuse of both parties. The one condemned him for meddling with the matter at all, and could "never forgive his speaking about slavery; that must be left to the slaveholders;" the other condemned him for not going the same length, or in the same way with themselves. But did it never happen, in times of excitement, that he who was condemned by the extremes of both parties, was not very far from the right? His opposition to this national sin brought on him more obloquy than all his theological heresies, early and late. His tracts on slavery have been widely read, and perhaps have had more influence than any other contemporary works, in turning the attention of wise and serious men to this crime; perhaps more than all others. Here, too, he was not alone; others went with him to the work, and got honorable scars. Above all others in his esteem, there was one, united to him in the closest ties of friendship;* sharing his aspirations and his sympathies. Shoulder to shoulder they went to this work, each encouraging the other; the same spirit seemed in them both, and they took sweet counsel together. In the inscrutable wisdom of Him, without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground, that one was torn from us, leaving us, indeed, tears for his departure, but joy, also, for his life. Honor to him, honor to both. Yes, honor to all who dare lift up their voice for freedom, and for man. The tyranny of opinion is the most stifling of all tyranny; but to true men like these, it was neither let nor bar.

He aimed to IMPROVE SOCIETY in its general principles and entire framework. He saw that we live in a state unchristian and not rational; that wars prevail, and must be prepared for; that we prevent crime by remedies almost as bad as the disease; that laws do not reach all offenders, perhaps not the most heinous; that the goods of society do not always fall into the hands of their primitive owners; that some men are losers by what we call civilization; that laws and institutions do not always make us more free, but weave webs of conventionalism about us, belittling the might of men. He saw that the strong use the weak as their tools, and do not bear the burdens of the weak, as reason and religion demand. He saw, too, the increasing power of covetousness, which is corrupting the whole people, individuals, legislatures, yes, the nation; a spirit that may make the rich richer, but certainly the poor poorer; which drives the laboring man each year farther from honorable competency. Against all these he lifted up his voice, thinking we were never a rational nor a Christian people till we applied reason and religion to all our daily life.

* * * * * *

He was a rare example of a man after half a century of life, growing yearly more eloquent. The cause is plain. The eloquence that comes of tropes and figures, and brilliant thought, may fade with the fading sense; but the eloquence that comes of a moral purpose, of a religious trust, deepens with that zeal, and grows brighter as that faith rises higher and more high. How could he fail to become more persuasive, when his heart yearned more and more towards the children of men?

Each season the flowers and the stars had a new beauty in his eyes. Nature and man grew yearly in his esteem. He has gone from us; in the midst of his usefulness was he taken away, his eye not dim, nor his natural vigor abated. He has gone, and we are left. To mourn at his loss? It cannot be otherwise. We must weep. The slave has lost that voice which pleaded so eloquently for him. The poorest boy amid the Berkshire hills, is the poorer for his death. The babe born in a garret of yonder city, is left more friendless than before. The mourner has one less to wipe her tears away. The selfish and wicked will hear no more his pathetic rebuke, so often slighted. The wise man has lost a counsellor; the humblest a friend. Who is there to right the wrongs of the oppressed? He who has taken his servant where sorrow and sighing cannot enter. Shall we lament over the glory that has gone? No, let us take courage, and rejoice that so much goodness has been lived out; in our times; in the midst of us.

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In the circumstances of his departure, there was something exceedingly pleasant to remember. He had spent the summer in the valley of the Housatonic, among the Berkshire mountains, his "soul went forth amid the vast works of God." It had been the pleasantest period of his life. He was meditating a great work which he leaves not done.

* Charles Follen.

On the first of August, he had delivered an address on the emancipation of eight hundred thousand fellow-men in the West Indies—a work not inferior to his best productions. He was returning to his home. Amid the lovely scenery of Vermont, he sickened and lay. His family were about him. His senses continued to the last. It was a clear and balmy autumn day; the Sabbath; the day of his greatest labors, when he had spoken to so many hearts; the day hallowed to all our minds by lovely and long-cherished associations. The sun went towards the horizon; the slanting beams fell into the chamber. He turned his face towards that sinking orb, and he and the sun went away together. Each, as the other, left "the smile of his departure" spread on all around; the sun on the clouds; he on the heart.

THE MAMMOTH CAVE OF KENTUCKY.

The following extract of a letter received in this city from a gentleman at Cincinnati, gives an interesting and graphic description of that wonderful natural curiosity, the great Mammoth Cave of Kentucky:

About half way between Nashville and Louisville, I stopped at a place called Three Forks, where I took a cross stage, and went down to the "Mammoth Cave." The "Cave House" I found to be a large house for the comfort of visitors, well appointed in every respect, and made very agreeable by the social qualities of Dr. Croghan, the owner, and who is brother to the celebrated Gen. Croghan, of Fort Stephenson memory. I arrived there about ten o'clock in the morning, and became anxious to gratify my curiosity by an immediate descent to the "lower regions;" but had to stifle my desire, as all the guides were already in the cave, with parties of ladies and gentlemen. Dr. Croghan, however, seeing my disappointment, said that he would be my guide until dinner time, when we would come out, and prepare for a long journey, after refreshing ourselves on a fine haunch of venison.

So five of us, with a lamp apiece, left the house for the entrance, which is in a deep ravine, thickly shaded by forest trees, that serve as a sort of screen, to hide the mouth, which is yawning to receive you. Turning short round a mass of rock, you stand instantly in the very breath of the cave, which is steadily passing out, condensing, as it strikes you, with a chilly damp, and making you feel as if you were entering some long shut up and uninhabited old house. Stand still a minute, and look at the earth open before you.

Fifty feet below, and at an angle of thirty degrees from where you stand, you see a larger hopper, which would hold twenty cart-loads, which was used by the saltpetre workers during the war, and which remains as it was left in 1815. You become used to the chill in a few moments, and you start down the steps, which lead around the side of the immense opening; at the bottom you find level and good walking; and after proceeding about one hundred yards, your lights become of use. A quarter of a mile from the entrance, and at a narrow and low place, you come to a door, above which they have placed a rude Æolian harp, that is forever "discoursing sweet sounds," as the cool, dry air of the cave is rushing out to the warmer atmosphere above. Passing this door, you gradually descend, until the cave opens out into immense proportions, and you come to the first avenue, called after the ornithologist, Audubon; being the only place where *birds* of any kind have ever been found, and they were *bats!* At this junction is what is called the Grand Dome, being eighty feet high, and one hundred feet in diameter. We lit it up, so as to have a fine view of it, with Bengal lights, where we stood enchained by wonder and admiration. The next is called Gothic Avenue, which received us after climbing up a long flight of steps. The purity of the air is now felt by all; the chill has entirely left us; and upon looking at the thermometer, we find it standing at 59, *never varying in either winter or summer.* Our curiosity was now ravenous, and we proceeded to gratify it, at all hazards. Forward was the order for the time, each one seeing something to wonder at, and exclaim about.

Stalagmite Hall is the first place of great interest in this avenue. It is a spacious enlargement of the cavern, the roof of which is curiously supported by stalagmite columns, of all shapes and dimensions, sometimes in rows, and sometimes isolated, producing a most singularly beautiful effect—as all beyond the reach of our lights was in utter darkness, and left the imagination free as air, to fill up the distance in whatever manner the intense excitement of the moment could conjure up. A few hundred yards further on, we stopped and regaled ourselves at a sulphur spring, which lay directly in our path. All this distance we had fine walking, and we began *now* to act more like boys just let out of school, than anything else. Certain it is, that we were not sedate and sober men; for we ran, jumped, hallooed, laughed, and screamed, as if we were mad! The doctor explained all this; for I was anxious to know why my desire to laugh, run, and jump, *could not be repressed!* He said that the carbon of the blood, that principle which is so abundant in the upper air, and which, when the blood is nearly saturated with it, produces that dull and lethargic feeling you often experience, was continually being extracted, by the purity of the air in the cave; and as a consequence, your blood was coursing through your veins, rich and red, and as volatile as quicksilver.

Elastic to a great degree, in every muscle, and buoyant in feeling, from the novelty of our situation, it is not to be wondered at, that we made boys of ourselves, for the time. Devil's Arm Chair, and Elephant's Head, formed out of the stalagmite, are the next curiosities. Haunted Chamber, is a place where two mummies were found, in a perfect state of preservation. There is no principle of decay in the cave, as it is dry in the extremest sense of the word. Lovers' Leap next arrests your footsteps; after getting down which, you get through a fissure in the rock, when you come into a lower cavern, containing what is termed the Gothic Chapel, one of the most beautiful places we had yet seen. Talk about the abbeys and the pillared halls of the old world! they are nothing to this specimen, "in the backwoods," of the new. A pulpit, of most singular shape, just sufficient to hold a man, is formed in the centre by the drippings from the roof, which is supported on each side by double rows of columns, leaving it in a half circle, each way, and forming a sort of amphitheatre, as it were, for the audience, is the governing feature of this place. Long did we stay here, and admire the changing effects of each different position of our lamps. We left, however, and went to the Cinder Pile, still farther on. We were now cautioned by the doctor that we were four miles from the entrance; and if we wanted our dinner, we must start back. We were three hours making the trip. S.

VIEWS OF MAMMOTH CAVE.—Mr. William C. Allen, a young artist, who was sometime since a resident of Louisville, is taking views of the interior of Mammoth Cave. These are to be engraved by the finest engravers of this country or of Europe, and to be accompanied by descriptions. Few artists are better qualified than Mr. Allen for delineating the wonders of this mighty subterranean realm—exceeding in extent any city in the Union, and decorated and ornamented with the choicest of nature's handiwork, conceived in her wildest and most fanciful moods.

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.

Among the numerous modes by which the Scottish nation testified their loyalty and affection to their beloved sovereign, none were so grand and magnificent, or on such an extensive scale, as the large fires on the summits of the mountains. These fires were all preconcerted throughout Scotland, and so judiciously arranged, as to take place simultaneously on Wednesday night, by which time it had been confidently believed that her majesty would have been landed in her Scottish dominions. From the state of the wind, that event could not take place until early on Thursday morning. But the large fires on the hills had a most splendid effect during the night of the royal squadron beating up the Frith of Forth, and illuminated the waters during the night, all the fires being visible by the squadron for about fifty miles around. Their effect is stated to have been magnificent, as bonfire after bonfire blazed forth in streams of light, to cheer and welcome the sovereign during the night, and served to lighten up the Forth, and pilot the royal squadron to their moorings near Inchkeith. These large fires, therefore, served both to welcome her majesty during the night along the Scottish shores, and illuminate and guide her course up the Frith of Forth, the effect of which was most imposing from the ocean. It may not be known among all our readers, that these beacon fires, in ancient times, were invariably used to raise the Scottish warriors to assemble in arms, during the fierce wars that raged between England and Scotland.

The numerous beacon fires on Wednesday night were lighted up as testimonies of joy, affection, and loyalty. That on the rugged and craggy top of Arthur's Seat, which is eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, was beautiful and sublime; and, from the darkness of the night, shed a flood of light over the whole surrounding romantic and picturesque scenery of Salisbury Crags, and also to a very great distance. Arthur's Seat beacon was got up by the Earl of Haddington, as the keeper of the king's park. The noble earl caused to be prepared the most splendid fire we have ever seen blaze forth on that romantic peak. This fire was erected on a circular area or base, of which the diameter was forty feet, and the height of the pile varied from eight to ten feet. It was composed of about one hundred and eighty tar barrels, besides those of turpentine, twenty-five tons of coals, about forty cart-loads of wood, besides tarred canvass, yarns, ropes, &c. and was seen about fifty miles distant. His lordship's beacon was the signal to the whole mountains within sight, which, in their turn, telegraphed to more distant hills, and thus the beacon fires were simultaneously kindled throughout Scotland. From Arthur's Seat and the Calton Hill, about fifty beacons were seen lighted up all around, taking their signals simultaneously from the romantic peak of the Scottish metropolis. To enumerate all these would be impossible. We may venture to assert, that an equal number of beacons, and of such size and such an extended scale, never occurred simultaneously in her majesty's Scottish dominions.

GEMS OF HOLINESS.

If you be not capable of rising to the knowledge of the most sublime truths, learn with "the little ones" to know such as are small.

If you cannot pray always with the lips, pray in the heart, by the fervor of your desires, and the purity of your intentions.

Be neither idle in solitude, nor a babbler in public; and the evil one, overcome by your diligence and silence, shall depart from you; for he loves not a man who works and is silent.

The good which happens to you becomes mine when I rejoice with you for it.

If you really mean to correct the faults of your brother, begin by correcting your own.

The love of Christ, and the love of the world, are contrary the one to the other, and have nothing in common; nor can they dwell together in the same heart.

He that calms the wrath of his brother by meek words, stays a dog from biting, by anointing his tongue with honey.—*Thomas à Kempis.*

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Recipe for making good Bread.—James Roche, long celebrated in Baltimore, as a baker of excellent bread, having retired from business, has furnished the Baltimore American with the following recipe for making good bread, with a request that it should be published for the information of the public:

"Take an earthen vessel, larger at the top than the bottom, and in it put one pint of milk warm water, one and a half pounds of flour, and half pint of malt yeast; mix them well together, and set it away, (in winter it should be in a warm place,) until it rises and falls again, which will be in from three to five hours; (it may be set at night, if it be wanting in the morning,) then put two large spoonsful of salt into two quarts of water, and mix it well with the above rising; then put it in about nine pounds of flour, and work your dough well, and set it by until it becomes light. Then make it out in loaves. The above will make four loaves.

As some flour is dry and other runny, the above quantity, however, will be a guide. The person making bread will observe that runny and new flour will require one-fourth more salt than old and dry flour. The water, also, should be tempered according to the weather; in spring and fall it should only be milk-warm; in hot weather, cold; and in winter, warm."

Burning of Anthracite Coal in Stoves.—Much use is made of hard coal in stoves, and great use is made of iron vessels for evaporating water to regulate the atmosphere of the apartments thus heated by coal fires. Instead of putting water in the iron vessels, put a quantity of dry sand, and in this sand set an earthen bowl containing pure water, and this renew every day, at the same time rinse out the bowl, so that it is made clean. Water evaporated in iron vessels is very offensive, which renders the atmosphere of apartments impure, as well as disagreeable. For parlors, where the atmosphere is desired to be pleasant and agreeable, a small quantity of cologne or perfumed water may be added to the clean water, which will diffuse itself in the atmosphere of the room, and make it pleasant.

The heat produced by hard coal is very different from that produced by bituminous coal, and is injurious to persons in delicate health. Rooms in which hard coal is burnt, require more ventilation than those where bituminous coal is used.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

To purify Water.—It is not so generally known as it ought to be, that pounded alum possesses the property of purifying water. A large tablespoonful of pulverized alum, sprinkled into a hogshead of water, (the water stirred round at the time,) will, after the lapse of a few hours, by precipitating to the bottom the impure particles, so purify it, that it will be found to possess nearly all the freshness and clearness of the finest spring water. A pailful, containing four gallons, may be purified by a single teaspoonful.

To imitate Ebony.—Infuse nutgalls in vinegar, wherein you have soaked rusty nails; rub your wood with this; let it dry, polish and burnish.

White Ash an Antidote.—A writer in the New England Farmer ("S. W.") avers and insists upon it, that a tea made of the bark or leaves of the common white ash, is a sure cure for poison occasioned by snakes, and by the ivy and dogwood of our fields and woods. He says, at the South, rattlesnakes and mockesons have the utmost dread for the white ash; and a Baptist minister, who has travelled much in North Carolina and Virginia, assures him, that he has known many cases of cure from the bite of those snakes, from the use of white ash tea. S. W. himself says he knows, by experience, that a person poisoned by ivy may be speedily cured by the same thing. It is a simple remedy, easily procured, and we should think the experiment worth trying.

Miscellaneous Items.

The "Marriage Question" in England.—A London paper states that a young man and woman, inhabitants of Brighton, accompanied by a marriage procession of their friends and relatives, recently appeared at the altar of one of the churches of the metropolis, for the purpose of tying the hymeneal knot. The ceremony had proceeded to the place where the clergyman had to pronounce the declaratory words that the man and woman had become husband and wife, when the minister had a notification made to him, which induced him to ask who was the bridegroom's former wife? The reply was, the present bride's sister; when the clergyman announced that such marriage ceremony was illegal, and refused to proceed with the ceremonial. All the parties were aware of the relationship, but probably were not aware of the recent alteration of the law, making marriage with a deceased wife's sister illegal.

Singing.—The Germans are seldom afflicted with consumptions; nor have I known, says Dr. Rush, but one instance of spitting blood among them. This, I believe, is in part occasioned by the strength their lungs acquire by exercise in vocal music, which constitutes an essential part of their education. The music master of our academy has furnished me with an observation still more in favor of this opinion. He informed me that he had known several instances of persons who were strongly disposed to consumption, who were restored to health by the exercise of their lungs in singing.

British Wealth.—The princely entertainments of the Marquis of Breadalbane, during Queen Victoria's visit to Scotland, will, it is said, cost £60,000. The Marquis has a rent roll of £45,000 per annum, besides considerable accumulations of money, and he has no family.

Potatoes and Cotton.—The Maine Cultivator says, that the potatoe crop of the United States, at 30 cents a bushel, amounts to more than the whole cotton crop of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, about which so much fuss is made, in and out of Congress, every year, as the most important product of the nation.

A Warning to those who come to cities.—Two sisters who came to New-York, about six weeks since, from New-London, Ct. in search of employment, in the care of a man named Comstock, were introduced to an infamous house, where he left them, under the pretense that a respectable family lived there, and wished to employ them. They were kept close prisoners, and suffered continual persecution, until one of them escaped to the police office, and demanded protection.

Thanksgiving.—The governors of Maine, and Connecticut have appointed the 17th of November, as a day of Thanksgiving.

FREE LABOR DRY GOODS,

Manufactured by the American Free Produce Association.

MANCHESTER ginghams, two qualities, and various patterns; checks, aprons, and furniture, four qualities and prices; canton flannel, bleached and unbleached, two qualities; muslin; bleached and unbleached shirtings, two qualities; thin muslin for linings, brown, bleached, and colored; table diaper, 7-4 and 8-4 (bird-eye,) brown and bleached; table diaper, 7-4 and 8-4, huckaback bird-eye towels; buff pantaloon stripes; fancy do. do. various patterns; black and white wadding; cotton laps, or batts; cotton yarn, assorted numbers; lamp wick; bed ticking, an excellent article; calicoes.

On hand and for sale, wholesale, by
J. MILLER M'KIM, 31 N. Fifth Street,
And retail, by
LYDIA WHITE, 219 N. Second Street.

The increased facilities for the transaction of business, afforded by the appointment of J. M. M'Kim, as wholesale agent, it is hoped will induce country storekeepers and others to increase their purchases. Orders for goods, or letters desiring information, may be addressed to the agent, or either of the committee.

William C. Betts, No. 43 Cherry Street.
Daniel L. Miller, Jr. No. 250 Arch St., or to
James Mott, No. 35 Church alley,
Committee on Manufactures.

8th mo. 4th, 1842.

Health, Quiet, and Comfort!!

THE Graham House, 63 Barclay street, New-York profiers advantages to strangers stopping a few days or weeks in the city, such as are rarely offered. It is eligibly located, on a clean and airy street, very near the business part of the city, and in the immediate vicinity of the principal steamboat landings. Its apartments are convenient and neat, while its table is supplied with the best vegetables and fruits that can be procured, excluding, entirely, animal food, and stimulants of all kinds. Charges moderate, and every effort made to render boarders comfortable. Shower baths free. Remember, 63.

New-York, October 20, 1842. 6m

Peach-Orchard Coal, $5 50 per Ton.

WM. P. POWELL, 61 Cherry street, will furnish at the lowest market prices, a superior quality of Peach-Orchard, Schuylkill, Lehigh, Lackawana, and Liverpool Coals. ☞Orders through the Post Office, and otherwise, if left at either of the following places, will be thankfully received, and promptly attended to,

At 143 Nassau street; 61 Cherry street; Office of People's Press, 9 Spruce street.

New-York, September 29, 1842.

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York, and No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia, "A KISS FOR A BLOW." By Henry C. Wright. Price, 37 1-2 cents.

September 29, 1842.

Free-Labor Goods.

Calicoes, muslins, bedticking, canton flannel, white and brown sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, &c. Wholesale and retail, by CHARLES COLLINS.
No. 3 Cherry-street, New-York.

FREE LABOR BOOT AND SHOE STORE.

Wholesale and Retail.

THE subscriber notifies his friends and the public generally, that he keeps constantly on hand, at the most reasonable prices, a large assortment of WOMEN'S and CHILDREN'S BOOTS AND SHOES, of every description, and best materials, and entirely free from the contamination of slave labor.

COUNTRY MERCHANTS will do well to call and examine for themselves, before purchasing elsewhere.

All orders punctually executed, at the shortest notice.
JAMES WILLIS,
No. 241 Arch street, one door below 7th.
Philadelphia, June 16, 1842. p.—6m.

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